

BEFORE THE  
FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

May 23 4 05 PM '95

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FEDERAL ELECTION  
COMMISSION  
OFFICE OF GENERAL  
COUNSEL

In the matter of:

Republican National Committee

-and-

National Policy Forum

MUR No. 4250

**COMPLAINT**

Pursuant to 11 C.F.R. § 111.4, the Democratic National Committee ("DNC") brings this complaint against the Republican National Committee ("RNC") and the National Policy Forum for violations of the Federal Election Campaign Act (the "Act") and the Commission's regulations. The National Policy Forum is a project of the RNC which the RNC has disguised as a separate non-profit corporation in order to evade the fundamental requirements of the federal law that national parties publicly disclose their contributions and disbursements and pay a certain minimum portion of their expenses with contributions allowable under that law. In short, the National Policy Forum is an RNC project which it has funded entirely with millions of dollars in soft money from hidden sources--all in gross violation of the law.

Specifically, as detailed fully below, the National Policy Forum ("NPF") is a nonprofit corporation claiming exemption from taxation under section 501(c)(4) of the Internal Revenue Code. This organization, however, was set up by the RNC and is entirely maintained, financed and controlled by the RNC. NPF's activities are indistinguishable from those normally conducted by the RNC itself: development and promotion, through mass communications and meetings, of the Party's official message; providing benefits to RNC donors; and showcasing Republican candidates for federal and other offices. All of these activities would clearly be covered by the Act and Commission regulations if conducted by the RNC itself.

In all relevant respects, then, the National Policy Forum is simply an arm of the RNC, conducting RNC activities. By failing to file reports disclosing the NPF's contributions and expenditures, the RNC has violated 2 U.S.C. § 434 and 11 C.F.R. §§ 104.8(e) and 104.9. By failing to allocate the NPF's disbursements between federal and non-federal accounts and thereby impermissibly spending hundreds of thousands of dollars or more of corporate and other federally-impermissible contributions, the RNC has violated 2 U.S.C. §§ 441a(f) and 441b and 11 C.F.R. §§ 102.5, 106.5(a) and (b), 110.9(a) and 114.2. Alternatively, if NPF is recognized as a

separate corporation, then the NPF has made, and the RNC has accepted, millions of dollars of illegal corporate contributions, in violation of 2 U.S.C. § 441b and 11 C.F.R. §§ 114.2, 114.3 and 114.4. NPF's major purpose is the making of such contributions to and expenditures on behalf of the RNC. Therefore NPF, if treated as a separate entity, is in any event a political committee, affiliated with the RNC, which has failed to register, report and allocate its expenses, all in violation of 2 U.S.C. §§ 433 and 434, and 11 C.F.R. §§ 102.1(d), 104.8(e), 104.9 and 106.5(a) and (b).

### STATEMENT OF FACTS

#### I. Parties

1. The DNC, complainant, is the national committee of the Democratic Party, as defined in 2 U.S.C. § 431(14), and is a political committee registered with the Commission. Its address is 430 S. Capitol Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003.

2. Respondent RNC is the national committee of the Republican Party, as defined in 2 U.S.C. § 431(14), and is a political committee registered with the Commission. Its address is 310 First Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003.

3. Respondent National Policy Forum ("NPF") is a District of Columbia nonprofit corporation, claiming exemption from taxation under section 501(c)(4) of the Internal Revenue Code. Its address is 1156 15th Street, N.W. Suite 550, Washington, D.C. 20005. The Forum's Articles of Incorporation are attached hereto as Exhibit 1.

The following allegations are made on information and belief:

#### II. The National Policy Forum As an Arm of the RNC

4. The National Policy Forum was incorporated on May 24, 1993 as a District of Columbia nonprofit corporation. (Exhibit 1). Among its express purposes are "to develop a national Republican policy agenda." Id. Article 3d.

5. On or about June 10, 1993, RNC Chairman Haley Barbour circulated a memorandum (attached as Exhibit 2) to members of the RNC's "Team 100" donor council--a group consisting of the largest contributors to the RNC. The memorandum announced that, "The RNC is creating the National Policy Forum (NPF) as an issue development subsidiary. It will help to set a positive Republican agenda for America and provide a pro-active forum for Republican participation." (Exhibit 2, emphasis added). A description of "Policy Council Operations" notes that--

An immediate goal is the desire for NPF to reach as wide an audience as possible through the media, publications, or its own forums, and thus be a highly visible platform

for articulating both Republican ideas and principles.

Exhibit 2, last page, emphasis added.

6. On June 21, 1993, the National Policy Forum issued a press release announcing its formation. (Exhibit 3). RNC Chairman Barbour is shown on the release as being the chairman of NPF. The release heralded the formation of "National Policy Forum: A Republican Center for the Exchange of Ideas." (Exhibit 3). RNC/NPF Chairman Barbour characterized NPF as a "powerful vehicle for refining and articulating our message of smaller government, economic growth through lower taxes, peace through strength and other Republican principles." *Id.*

7. The release further indicated that NPF "will be comprised of a Board of Directors of 25 nationally recognized Republicans and other policy leaders."

8. On information and belief, the bylaws of NPF give NPF's chairman--who is and at all times since the formation of NPF has been RNC Chairman Haley Barbour--unilateral power to appoint outright all of the directors of NPF.

9. The president of NPF from the time of its formation in June 1993 until approximately June 1994 was Michael Baroody. (See Exhibit 3). The RNC's FEC reports indicate that Baroody was on the payroll of the RNC for at least a part of this period. (See FEC report pages attached as Exhibit 4).

10. There has been other substantial overlap in officials and employees of the RNC and its campaign committees and NPF. Mary Crawford served as communications director of NPF and then immediately became press secretary of the RNC. (National Journal, March 11, 1995, p. 639). Catherine Keller, NPF director of administration and comptroller, immediately became staff secretary for the National Republican Senatorial Committee. *Id.*

11. The RNC has provided substantial financing to the NPF. Attached as Exhibit 5 is a summary of this financing, based on the RNC's FEC reports, relevant pages of which are attached to the summary. As Exhibit 5 shows, since the formation of NPF, the RNC has provided a total of at least \$ 2,555,000 in financing to NPF in fourteen separate transactions over the last two years. Approximately \$1,858,816 has been repaid by NPF, leaving a current net balance of about \$ 696,183.30. At any one time, NPF has benefitted from outstanding net financing from the RNC ranging from \$100,000 to \$2.155 million.

12. In addition, in February 1995, the National Republican Congressional Committee made a disbursement of \$200,000 to NPF for "flowers, gifts, etc.", representing further national Republican Party support for NPF. (See page from NRCC February 1995 report,

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attached as Exhibit 6).

### III. The National Policy Forum's Activities

13. One main purpose of NPF was stated by RNC/NPF Chairman Barbour in announcing NPF's formation: a "powerful vehicle for refining and articulating our message. . . ," i.e. the official message of the Republican Party (Exhibit 3).

14. A brochure distributed by NPF at or about the time of its formation (Exhibit 7) confirmed that development and communication of the message of the Republican Party is the key function of NPF, explaining that NPF's approach "is founded on the proposition that Republican principles are sound and Republican ideas are ideas that work." (p. 3).

15. A second key purpose of the NPF is to provide benefits to RNC donors and support the RNC's fundraising program. A memorandum was distributed to the largest contributors to the RNC--members of the "Team 100" donor council--before formation of NPF was even announced. (Exhibit 2). The memorandum indicated that every NPF "policy council" would include two or three RNC Team 100 members, "who will serve alongside the Senators, Members of Congress, Governors and other national leaders." In addition, there was also to be a "small policy committee" of RNC Team 100 members "to serve as an interface between Team 100 members and NPF." *Id.* Thus NPF was used as a direct means to provide access to top GOP policymakers and elected officials as a specific benefit for large donors to the RNC.

16. An initial project of the NPF was distribution by the RNC of a questionnaire to some 600,000 "activists", to be shared with NPF "along with Republican elected officials at every level, party leaders, opinion shapers. . . ." (Exhibit 7, pp. 3-4).

17. The central project of NPF, during its first year, was the creation of "policy councils," which conducted a series of forums around the nation on various issues. See National Policy Forum "Prospectus," attached as Exhibit 8.

18. NPF's budget for the first year, to be largely devoted to this project, was \$4.5 million. (Exhibit 8, p. 8).

19. This project was the means for serving the third key purpose of NPF, which is sponsoring appearances by potential GOP presidential candidates and other GOP candidates for federal office. According to an NPF release dated March 1, 1994 (Exhibit 9), the policy council leaders "includ[e] many considered potential candidates for the 1996 Republican presidential nomination." These potential presidential candidates and others "will spearhead the National Policy Forum's effort as co-chairs of its 14 Policy

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Carroll Campbell  
William Bennett  
Tommy Thompson  
Lamar Alexander  
Jack Kemp  
William Weld  
Richard Cheney

21. As indicated in Exhibits 9 and 10, the policy council co-chairs included a number of other federal officeholders who were and/or are candidates for re-election to federal office.

22. The policy council project culminated in the publication of a report, "Listening to America," which was released in July 1994. Excerpts are attached as Exhibit 11. The report itself quotes approvingly from a Washington Post article indicating that the purpose of NPF is to "make the GOP the party of the future" and to "build a consensus within the GOP heading into 1996." (Exhibit 11, p. 1).

23. RNC/NPF Chairman Barbour's introduction indicates that the NPF's 14 policy councils held more than 60 public forums from coast to coast between November 1993 and June 1994 (Exhibit 11, p. 4). His introduction further indicates that some 10,000 people participated in these forums and that 134,000 people responded to the survey mailed and compiled by the RNC, the results of which were "shared" with NPF. Id.

24. RNC/NPF Chairman Barbour characterized the message of "Listening to America" by concluding that the views "expressed in this initial report are an accurate reflection of the policies Republicans in federal, state and local government have advocated and supported. And where these Republicans have had the power, . . . those policies and programs have worked." Id. at 3.

25. The entire policy forum/"Listening to America" exercise was also clearly understood by the press and the public to be an effort to develop, promote and publicize an official Republican party message to persuade voters to vote Republican, as exemplified by an op-ed piece by David Broder written after the release of the report (Exhibit 12). Broder observed that NPF filled the "need to

develop policy proposals that can win voter approval in coming national campaigns. That's why sponsoring policy-development forums is one of the few really vital tasks a national party can perform when it has lost the White House." (Exhibit 12).

26. This central function served by NPF for the RNC--developing a Party message to persuade voters to vote Republican--was underscored by RNC/NPF Chairman Barbour himself in his 1993 annual report to the members of the RNC in which he stated that:

One of our [the RNC's] two main goals was to begin regaining the Republican Party's position in this country as a party of principles and a party of ideas. . . The National Policy Forum, a Republican Center for the Exchange of Ideas, was inaugurated in June of 1993. It is a separate organization from the RNC, but many party leaders and elected officials are involved.

Report, pp. 46-47, attached as Exhibit 13.

27. An NPF brochure announcing NPF plans for 1995 indicated that its "most important task in 1995" would be the publication of "Agenda for America," which will be a "foundational document of Republican thought--one that goes to our basic principles and philosophy." (Exhibit 14). The brochure further indicates that NPF would produce a monthly television program, "Listening to America--A Neighborhood Meeting," which on information and belief was formerly called "Neighborhood Meeting" and is hosted by announced presidential candidate Lamar Alexander.

#### VIOLATIONS OF LAW

##### I. RNC Failure to Disclose Contributions and Receipts and Allocate Disbursements Between Federal and Non-Federal Accounts

28. By every relevant measure, the NPF is simply an arm or project of the RNC. The RNC itself characterizes NPF as a "subsidiary". (Exhibit 2). Applying the tests in 11 C.F.R. § 100.5(g) that the Commission uses to determine affiliation between one committee and other or its sponsoring organization, it is clear based on the allegations in paragraphs 4 through 12 *infra*, that--

(a) the RNC has authority and ability to direct the governance of the NPF, since the RNC chair can appoint all the directors and the president of NPF has been on the RNC payroll (100.5(g)(4)(ii)(B));

(b) for the same reasons, the RNC has authority and ability to hire, appoint, demote or otherwise control the officers of the NPF (100.5(g)(4)(ii)(C));

(c) the RNC and NPF have overlapping officers and employees (100.5(g)(4)(ii)(E));

(d) the RNC has provided significant funds on an ongoing basis to the NPF (100.5(g)(4)(ii)(G));

(e) the RNC formed the NPF (100.5(g)(4)(ii)(I)); and

(f) the RNC and NPF have similar patterns of contributors, further indicating a formal or ongoing relationship. (100.5(g)(4)(ii)(J)). See New York Times article of April 1, 1994, attached as Exhibit 15, reporting that many contributors solicited for the NPF have given "large sums of money for the Republican Party." Among those major contributors both to NPF and the RNC, for example, is the National Rifle Association.

29. The NPF carries on activities that are indistinguishable from those of the RNC itself. As detailed above, these include:

(a) through the policy council meetings and publication and distribution of "Listening to America," and the proposed future development and publication of "Agenda for America," the development and mass communication of the Republican Party message/platform for the purpose of persuading voters to vote Republican, specifically, by identifying "Republican" ideas for the public and communicating to the public the message that these Republican ideas are "sound" and "work" (paragraphs 4, 5, 6, 13, 14, 24, 25, 26, 27 infra);

(b) supporting RNC fundraising by providing benefits to RNC donors (paragraph 15 infra); and

(c) sponsoring public appearances by GOP presidential candidates and GOP candidates for other federal and non-federal offices, at some 60 different meetings attended by 10,000 persons (paragraphs 14-23, infra).

30. These activities, if undertaken by the RNC itself, would clearly be subject to the Act and Commission regulations as "activities that urge the general public to. . . support candidates of a particular party or associated with a particular issue," 11 C.F.R. § 106.5(a)(2)(iv), as well as being "costs of a fundraising program. . . ." Id. § 106.5(a)(2)(ii).

31. Thus the NPF is simply an arm or project of the RNC carrying on RNC activities that would be fully subject to the Act and Commission regulations if carried on by the RNC.

32. The RNC has failed to disclose, on its reports filed with the Commission, any of the receipts or disbursements of the NPF. By failing to file reports disclosing the NPF's receipts and disbursements, the RNC has violated 2 U.S.C. § 434 and 11 C.F.R. §§

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104.8(e) and 104.9.

33. The RNC and NPF have failed to allocate the expenses of NPF between federal and non-federal accounts as required by 11 C.F.R. § 106.5(a); to the contrary, on information and belief it appears that the expenses of NPF have been paid largely or entirely with contributions not subject to the limitations or prohibitions of the Act, i.e., with "soft money." See Exhibit 8, at p. 8, and Exhibit 15. The RNC and NPF have therefore violated 11 C.F.R. §§ 106.5(a) and (b). By using hundreds of thousands of dollars of corporate and excessive individual contributions for purposes and to an extent not permitted by the Commission's allocation regulations, the RNC and NPF have also accepted illegal corporate and excessive individual contributions in violation of 2 U.S.C. §§ 441a(f) and 441b, and 11 C.F.R. §§ 102.5, 106.5(a) and (b), 110.9(a) and 114.2.

## **II. RNC Acceptance of Illegal Corporate Contributions**

34. In the alternative, if the NPF is deemed to be a separate corporate entity rather than a project or arm of the RNC, then the NPF has made, and the RNC has accepted, millions of dollars of illegal corporate contributions and expenditures, in that NPF has expended its own corporate funds for:

(a) activities which were used directly to support RNC fundraising activity and to service and benefit RNC donors (Exhibit 2), constituting an in-kind corporate contribution to the RNC;

(b) sponsorship of public appearances of persons which, by the RNC's own admission, were based on the status of those persons as "potential candidates for the 1996 Republican presidential nomination," (Exhibit 9), constituting an in-kind corporate contribution to those candidates and/or the RNC. See, e.g., Advisory Opinion 1986-37; and

(c) development and communication to the public of the official RNC party message for the purpose of persuading voters to vote Republican, as detailed above, constituting an in-kind corporate contribution to the RNC.

35. The RNC has failed to follow, with respect to these contributions, the procedures set forth in Advisory Opinion 1992-33 for the acceptance by party committees of corporate in-kind contributions and the RNC's acceptance of these contributions is therefore unlawful under 2 U.S.C. § 441b.

36. As the facts set forth above establish clear, the major purpose of NPF is and at all relevant times has been the making of these contributions and expenditures on behalf of the RNC and/or candidates for federal office.

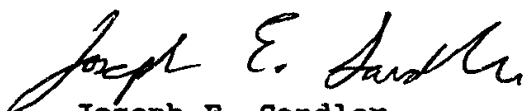


37. Accordingly, NPF is itself a political committee (see, e.g., Advisory Opinion 1994-25) and, based on the factors set forth in section 100.5(g) as analyzed in paragraph 28, infra, it is a political committee affiliated with the RNC. NPF has failed to register, file reports of receipts and disbursements and allocate its expenses between federal and non-federal accounts, all in violation of 2 U.S.C. §§ 433 and 434, and 11 C.F.R. §§ 102.1(d), 104.8(e), 104.9 and 106.5(a) and (b).

### CONCLUSION

Wherefore, the Commission should find reason to believe that the RNC and NPF have violated the Act and Commission regulations, and should conduct an investigation.

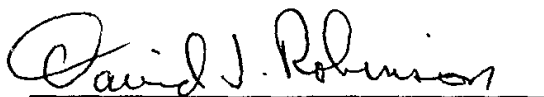
Respectfully submitted,



Joseph E. Sandler  
General Counsel  
Democratic National Committee  
430 S. Capitol Street, S.E.  
Washington, D.C. 20003  
(202) 863-7110

City of Washington )  
                                  ) ss  
District of Columbia)

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 23<sup>rd</sup> day of August, 1995.

  
Notary Public

DAVID J. ROBINSON  
Notary Public  
District of Columbia  
My Commission Expires September 14, 1997

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EXHIBIT 1

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GOVERNMENT OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA  
DEPARTMENT OF CONSUMER AND REGULATORY AFFAIRS  
BUSINESS REGULATION ADMINISTRATION



C E R T I F I C A T E

THIS IS TO CERTIFY that all applicable provisions of the DISTRICT  
OF COLUMBIA NONPROFIT CORPORATION ACT have been complied with and  
accordingly, this CERTIFICATE of INCORPORATION is hereby issued to  
NATIONAL POLICY FORUM

as of MAY 24TH , 1993 .

Joan Parrott-Fonseca  
Director

Barry K. Campbell  
Administrator  
Business Regulation Administration

*Patricia E. Grays*  
Assistant Superintendent of Corporations  
Corporations Division

Sharon Pratt Kelly  
Mayor

ARTICLES OF INCORPORATION  
OF THE  
NATIONAL POLICY FORUM

FILED

MAY 24 1993

BY: *JSF*

To: The Department of Consumer & Regulatory Affairs - Corporations Div.  
Washington, D.C.

Pursuant to the provisions of the District of Columbia Non-Profit Corporation Act, the undersigned adopts the following Articles of Incorporation:

- FIRST: The name of the Corporation is the National Policy Forum.
- SECOND: The period of duration of the Corporation is perpetual.
- THIRD: The purposes for which the Corporation is organized are as follows:

To encourage the involvement of citizens in free and open debate, the public exchange and development of ideas, discussions, dialogues, conferences, and discourses, to promote public forums, seminars and colloquia and information dissemination to the general populace, to develop a national Republican policy agenda and to serve as a clearinghouse for the collection and review of research and ideas on issues affecting foreign affairs, national security, economy, environment, energy, government lands, commerce, labor, federal budget, government restructuring and regulatory reform, fiscal and tax policy, international trade, education, states, cities, urban and suburban life, crimes, justice, judicial reform, human services, health care, agriculture, rural life, small business and entrepreneurial enhancement and other issues of concern to or affecting the citizens of the United States of America.

In addition, the corporation shall have all other powers now or hereafter granted to non-profit corporations pursuant to the District of Columbia Non-Profit Corporation Act to be used in furtherance of the above purposes. Notwithstanding the foregoing, however, the Corporation is organized to operate exclusively for social welfare purposes within the meaning of Section 501(c)(4) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, as amended ("Code")(or corresponding provisions of any subsequent federal tax laws), and shall neither have nor exercise any power or authority, either expressly, by interpretation, or by

operation of law, nor directly, nor indirectly, engage in any activity that would prevent it from qualifying and continuing to qualify as an organization described in Section 501(c)(4).

**FOURTH:** The Corporation shall have no members.

**FIFTH:** The manner in which directors shall be elected or appointed shall be provided in the Bylaws of the Corporation.

**SIXTH:** In all events and under all circumstances, and notwithstanding merger, consolidation, reorganization, termination, dissolution, or winding up of this Corporation, voluntary or involuntary or by the operation of law, or upon amendment of the Articles of the Corporation:

(a) The Corporation shall not have or exercise any power or authority either expressly, by interpretation, or by operation of law, nor shall it directly or indirectly engage in any activity that would prevent it from qualifying (and continuing to qualify) as a corporation described in Section 501(c)(4) of the Code (or corresponding provisions of any subsequent federal tax laws).

(b) No part of the assets or net earnings of the Corporation shall inure to the benefit of or be distributable to its incorporators, directors, officers, or other private persons having a personal or private interest in the Corporation, except that the Corporation shall be authorized and empowered to pay reasonable compensation for services actually rendered and to make reimbursement in reasonable amounts for expenses actually incurred in carrying out the purposes set forth in ARTICLE THIRD hereof.

(c) Neither the whole, nor any part or portion of the assets or net earnings of the Corporation shall be used, nor shall the corporation ever be operated, for objects or purposes other than set forth in ARTICLE THIRD hereof.

(d) Upon dissolution of the Corporation, all of its assets and property of every nature and description remaining after the payment of all liabilities and obligations of the Corporation (but not including assets held by the Corporation upon condition requiring return, transfer, or conveyance, which condition occurs by reason of the dissolution) shall be paid over and transferred to the federal government or to one or more organizations which engage in activities substantially similar to those of the Corporation and which are then qualified for exemption from

federal income taxes as organizations described in Section 501(c)(4) of the Code (or corresponding provisions of subsequent federal tax laws), or which constitutes a state or local government, or a subdivision or agency thereof.

SEVENTH: The address, including street and number of the Corporation's initial registered office is Suite 550, 1156 Fifteenth, St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005, and the name of its initial registered agent at such address is Scott Gunn.

EIGHTH: The number of directors constituting the initial Board of Directors is three (3) and the names and addresses, including street and number, of the persons who are to serve as the initial directors until the first annual meeting or until their successors are elected and qualified are:

Haley R. Barbour  
P.O. Box 960 648 Dogwood Drive RES  
Yazoo City, Mississippi 39194

Kenneth J. Hill  
1604 Sherwood Hall Lane  
Alexandria, Virginia 22306

Donald Fierce  
3414 Sleepy Hollow Road  
Falls Church VA 22044

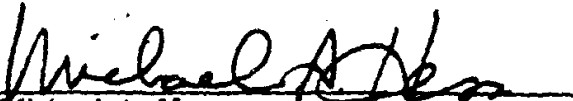
NINTH: The names and addresses of the incorporators are:


Michael A. Hess  
Quince Hill Farm  
P.O. Box 729  
Kearneysville, West Virginia 25430


Linda Ann Long  
7716 Asterella Court  
Springfield, Virginia 22152

Paula C. Saddler  
3764 Sudley Ford Court  
Fairfax, Virginia 22033

DATED: \_\_\_\_\_

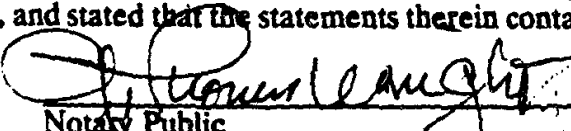
  
Michael A. Hess

  
Linda Ann Long

  
Paula C. Saddler

District of Columbia ss:

The undersigned, a Notary Public in and for the District of Columbia, hereby certifies that on May 19, 1993, personally appeared before me Michael A. Hess, who signed the foregoing document as an incorporator, and stated that the statements therein contained are true.

  
Notary Public

My Commission expires:

G. THOMAS WRIGHT  
Notary Public, District of Columbia  
My Commission Expires May 14, 1998

District of Columbia ss:

The undersigned, a Notary Public in and for the District of Columbia, hereby certifies that on May 19, 1993, personally appeared before me Linda Ann Long, who signed the foregoing document as an incorporator, and stated that the statements therein contained are true.

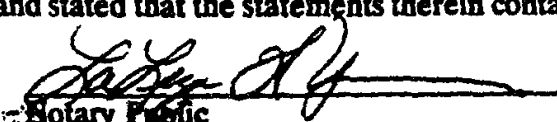
  
LaLeza H. Yarn  
Notary Public, District of Columbia

My Commission expires:

Commission Expires May 14, 1998

District of Columbia ss:

The undersigned, a Notary Public in and for the District of Columbia, hereby certifies that on May 19, 1993, personally appeared before me Paula C. Saddler, who signed the foregoing document as an incorporator, and stated that the statements therein contained are true.

  
LaLeza H. Yarn  
Notary Public

My Commission expires:

Commission Expires May 14, 1998

EXHIBIT 2

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## POLICY COUNCIL OPERATIONS

The NPF policy council structure will be announced, along with the Forum's Board of Directors and the Coordinating Council, in September.

Upon being selected and named by the Chairman and President of the Forum, the Co-Chairs of each policy council with input from the Board of Directors and Coordinating Council, will:

- join the Chairman and President in selecting the 50 to 75 members of each policy council.
- participate with the President in choosing a steering committee of 7 to 15 members that will oversee the work and set priorities for the council as a whole.
- ensure that an organizational meeting of the Policy Council occurs soon thereafter. At this meeting they will:
  - draft a work plan
  - review and prioritize issues to be addressed
  - plan for the establishment of Sub Councils
  - discuss NPF plans for forums around the country

In addition to their review of issues, a fundamental activity of each policy council will be the conduct of four public forums, at least three of which will be held outside the Washington, D.C. area. The forums will be the primary vehicle for NPF and policy councils to have dialogue with the public at large.

An immediate goal is the desire for NPF to reach as wide an audience as possible through the media, publications, or its own forums, and thus be a highly visible platform for articulating both Republican ideas and principles.

While a standardized format will be prepared for the structure of the forums, an important goal will be to retain the maximum flexibility in creating a specific forum in order to provide the NPF the latitude to explore innovative and imaginative ways to engage the public in policy debate.

## **NPF STRUCTURE**

The National Policy Forum: A Republican Center for the Exchange of Ideas ( NPF ) is a non-profit tax exempt body being organized under section 501 (c) (4) of the Internal Revenue Code.

The NPF will be governed by a Board of Directors that consists of eleven to fifteen members. This board will include:

- 1) Chairman of the Republican National Committee
- 2) President of the National Policy Forum
- 3) a U.S. Senator
- 4) a U.S Congressman
- 5) a Governor
- 6) a Mayor
- 7) a state legislator
- 8) a county official
- 9-10) Co-Chairs of Coordinating Council
- 11-15) Representatives of business, civic and community leadership

Assisting the Board of Directors will be a Coordinating Council that is co-chaired by two prominent Republicans, one man and one woman.

The Coordinating Council will be composed of approximately fifty individuals from a variety of backgrounds including Republican elected officials, former office holders and Administration members, civic, community and business leaders, party officials and supporters as well as other prominent Americans from all walks of life. In addition, approximately one-half of the Council membership will consist of the co-chairs of the policy councils.

The basic work of the Forum will be conducted by the thirteen policy councils each constituted to deal with a major issue cluster. Intended to be large to meet our goal of inclusivity, each council will have approximately fifty to seventy-five members and be directed by co-chairs, typically one man and one woman. Policy council membership will be predominately from outside Washington and outside government, though federal, state and local elected officials will be substantially represented on each. ( See the Policy Council Structure and Operations sections ).

consists of 15 Team 100 members, including the Finance Chairman and Team 100 Chairman. There will be four regional Co-Chairman of Team 100 and the remaining nine positions will be filled on an at-large basis. At-large members will be selected to reflect the ratio to geography of the membership to ensure fair representation. NAC members will serve for the 1993-94 election cycle and will be Team 100 members in good standing.

Following this meeting, Team 100 members should submit written recommendations for the National Advisory Council to Chairman Barbour. He will then consult with John Moran and Max Fisher to finalize the members of NAC.

### **National Policy Forum**

Secondly, Team 100 members are very interested and knowledgeable about policy matters. The RNC is creating the National Policy Forum (NPF) as an issue development subsidiary. It will help to set a positive Republican agenda for America and provide a pro-active forum for Republican participation. It will help the Party to regain its rightful position in this country as a party of principle, a party of ideas and a party of inclusion.

Team 100 members will be actively involved in NPF, for they have much to contribute in our policy deliberations. There are two specific ways Team 100 members will participate on the NPF. Every policy council, which will be the structure through which NPF operates, will include at least two or three Team 100 members, who will serve alongside the Senators, Members of Congress, Governors and other national leaders. This will inject the expertise of our Team 100 members directly into the NPF units at the operational level.

Since many Team 100 members will be interested in the subject matter of more than one policy council, there will also be a small policy committee of Team 100 to serve as an interface between Team 100 members and NPF. In this way a Team 100 member who is interested in but does not serve on a specific policy council will have an easy conduit into that policy council's work. The policy committee will also keep Team 100 abreast of NPF work and make sure NPF councils are receiving and considering the ideas of all Team 100 members.

NPF operations will dovetail with and complement the work of Republican leaders in the Congress as they work to develop legislative strategy. NPF will have a much longer-term horizon and will be geared to the widest possible participation. It is not the intention of NPF to rewrite or amend the 1992 Republican Platform, and NPF does not have the authority to do so. NPF's work is only supplemental to the platform and does not in any way supersede it.

June 10, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR TEAM 100 MEMBERS

FROM: HALEY BARBOUR  
JOHN A. MORAN  
MAX M. FISHER

SUBJECT: TEAM 100 STRUCTURE AND ACTIVITIES

---

Welcome to Washington, D.C. for our Team 100 national meeting. We are all pleased you were able to attend this very important meeting. This meeting will set the tone for Team 100's role in the 1993-1994 election cycle, which will help prepare us to reclaim the White House in 1996.

The three of us have met at length and had numerous conversations about how to structure and run Team 100. All three of us have received written submissions of your ideas and discussed with many of you on the telephone our desire to improve the organization. Chairman Barbour believes Team 100 is a special group of Republican leaders and wants to utilize its strengths.

We propose to give Team 100 a more organized structure and put the membership at the forefront of the Republican Party's policy development program. What we have developed is truly unique and consistent with the type of program Team 100 members want.

There are two new significant programs that will enable Team 100 members to have meaningful input in the decision-making process at the RNC and in developing the Party's political and policy agenda.

#### **National Advisory Council**

Team 100 will have a National Advisory Council (NAC) that meets regularly with the Chairman and Co-Chairman of the Republican National Committee to advise them on broad-ranging issues that effect the Party, its candidates and the country. NAC will help to maintain a closer liaison between the individual members of Team 100 and the RNC leadership, but will not serve as a substitute for direct access to the RNC Chairman and Co-Chairman. NAC will also promote Team 100, recruit new members and maintain our membership base.

The NAC will be appointed by the RNC Chairman in consultation with the Team 100 membership, Team 100 Chairman and the Finance Chairman. It will

EXHIBIT 3

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# NATIONAL POLICY FORUM

*A Republican Center for the Exchange of Ideas*

HALEY BARBOUR  
Chairman

MICHAEL BAROODY  
President

## P R E S S R E L E A S E

### FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Monday, June 21, 1993

NPF 93-02

CONTACT: DEBBIE MESSICK

202/544-2900

### **BARBOUR ANNOUNCES FORMATION OF NATIONAL POLICY FORUM**

Washington, D.C. -- Republican National Committee Chairman Haley Barbour today announced the formation of the National Policy Forum (NPF): A Republican Center for the Exchange of Ideas.

"This organization will be separate from the Republican National Committee, but it will be a powerful vehicle for refining and articulating our message of smaller government, economic growth through lower taxes, peace through strength and other Republican principles. Although it is not a party operation, it helps demonstrate ours is a party of principle and a party of ideas," Barbour said.

"The NPF will be a very participatory program, giving Republicans and others in the states and communities away from Washington, D.C., a voice in the national debates between the Clinton Administration's push for higher taxes, more spending and increased regulation and our belief in lower taxes, less spending and fewer regulations. This process helps demonstrate we are a party of inclusion," Barbour added.

Michael E. Baroody will serve as president of the NPF. Baroody, 46, has held a variety of political and governmental posts over the last two decades, most recently as senior vice president, policy and communications, of the National Association of Manufacturers. In making the announcement, Barbour praised Baroody's selection as president of the NPF. "Mike is not only knowledgeable in this field but enjoys the respect of political, academic, research and journalistic leaders," Barbour said.

The National Policy Forum will be comprised of a Board of Directors of 25 nationally recognized Republicans and other policy leaders. It will be organized under Section 501(c)(4) of the Internal Revenue Code.

-more -

The initial work of the NPF will be accomplished through the operation of Policy Councils, each focusing on a particular issue cluster. The Policy Councils will hold a series of town meetings, hearings and conferences throughout the country over the next year, beginning after Labor Day. Board members and Policy Council leaders will be announced later this summer.

Each Policy Council will be comprised of 50 to 75 members and will be broadly representative of Republican elected officials of all levels, as well as party officials and community activists, former Administration officials, and leaders from business, labor, agriculture and the academic and think-tank communities. "The NPF will span the spectrum of Republican and conservative thought, but I expect many who are not Republicans to participate as well," said Barbour.

The NPF will publish Commonsense: A Republican Journal of Thought and Opinion. According to Baroody, Commonsense "will seek out ideas from whoever values the concept that parties can be vehicles for the introduction of ideas into the policy debate, whether or not they are Republicans and, as will the National Policy Forum itself, it will be dedicated to the proposition that the contest for votes must also be a contest of ideas."

The NPF program will begin next month with the distribution of a questionnaire covering a wide variety of policy issues. More than 600,000 Republican elected and party officials and contributors will be asked to respond to what is believed to be the largest issue research survey project ever undertaken by any political institution. The responses will be tabulated by the Republican National Committee and the results will be made available to the NPF for future use by the Policy Councils.

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EXHIBIT 4

0921" 565" 40" 00



2 4 3 8 3 4 4 5 4 6

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE  
SHARED FED/MON FED ACTIVITY SCHEDULE H LINE 21A - PAYROLL EXPENDITURES

EMPLOYEE NAME	STREET ADDRESS	CITY STATE ZIP	ADMIN. EXPEND.	CHECK DATE	NETPAY	FEDERAL AMOUNT	NON-FED AMOUNT
OBADIA, CHARLES	334 CALDWELL RD	COLLEGE PAR MD 20741	PAYROLL	01/14/94			
VIERREGGER, WILLIAM	5451 GARDEN LANE DR CENTREVILLE	VA 22020	PAYROLL	01/14/94			
BIVIANO, JUDY G	1113 SOUTH 19TH S ARLINGTON	VA 22202	PAYROLL	01/14/94			
CARLE, ROBIN H	5956 WENSHIRE CT ALEXANDRIA	VA 22303	PAYROLL	01/14/94			
PEREZ, SARA A	3650 TURTAN RD NW WASHINGTON	DC 20007	PAYROLL	01/14/94			
PERIER, JUDIE H	201 WAGS AVE NE WASHINGTON	VA 22205	PAYROLL	01/14/94			
POWELL, CAMILLA	663 N OHIO STREET ARLINGTON	MD 58501	PAYROLL	01/14/94			
SCHAFER, ELLIE SUE	615 W THAYER BISMARCK	VA 22152	PAYROLL	01/14/94			
STEVENS, MARYANN D	8124 LANGMOOK RD SPRINGFIELD	MD 20716	PAYROLL	01/14/94			
ANDERSON, CURTIS W	2707 ANDER FOREST BOWIE	VA 22304	PAYROLL	01/14/94			
ANDREWS, KELLY P	300 YOKUM PKWY ALEXANDRIA	VA 22304	PAYROLL	01/14/94			
BAROODY JR, MICHAEL	4628 NEWCOMB PLAC ALEXANDRIA	NY 10548	PAYROLL	01/14/94			
CAREY, TIMOTHY B	175 SUNSET ROAD MONTROSE	MD 64152	PAYROLL	01/14/94			
EMERIGHT, BYRON R	10506 NW 57TH ST PARKVILLE	UT 84092	PAYROLL	01/14/94			
FEATHER, TONY	5000 OLD LONMAN R JEFFERSON C	MD 65109	PAYROLL	01/14/94			
HANSEN, DAVID D	2282 E GAMBL OAK SANDY	TN 37221	PAYROLL	01/14/94			
HOPPER JR, THOMAS A	811 AMBERWOOD CIR NASHVILLE	VA 22314	PAYROLL	01/14/94			
MADDOX, MARK R	220 S PAYNE ST ALEXANDRIA	NY 12170	PAYROLL	01/14/94			
MAREY, LESLIE A	CEDAR ALDER RD STILLWATER	MD 20770	PAYROLL	01/14/94			
MEDD II, CONNIE L	7701 ORA COURT GREENBELT	VA 22201	PAYROLL	01/14/94			
PEARSON, DAVE L	1107C N TAYLOR ST ARLINGTON	DC 20016	PAYROLL	01/14/94			
SALIBA, KHALIL G	4200 46TH ST NW WASHINGTON	CA 92359	PAYROLL	01/14/94			
TAYLOR, WALTER SCOTT	1365 CRAFTON AVE MENTONE	VA 22206	PAYROLL	01/14/94			
GUIMOND, RUTH C	4659 SO 28TH RD C ARLINGTON	MS 39060	PAYROLL	01/14/94			
PONDREAN, GEORGE WILL	P O DRAWER 450 CLINTON	LA 71254	PAYROLL	01/14/94			
SPADEA, WILLIAM G	1816 W POINT DR CHERRY HILL	TX 75382	PAYROLL	01/14/94			
KNOLES, CLAY	EDENWOOD ARCES DR LAKE PROVID	CO 80033	PAYROLL	01/14/94			
MC KINNON, JONATHAN	P O BOX 823279 DALLAS	DC 20002	PAYROLL	01/14/94			
BRIENEA, JOSEPH E	4055 JAY ST WHEATRIDGE	VA 22304	PAYROLL	01/14/94			
HENICK, H CHRISTOPHER	120 3RD ST NE WASHINGTON	VA 22204	PAYROLL	01/14/94			
RUPPERT, PAUL R	250 S REYNOLDS ALEXANDRIA	VA 22046	PAYROLL	01/14/94			
WHARTON, BONNIE G	4500 S FOUR MILE ARLINGTON	VA 22207	PAYROLL	01/14/94			
PIERCE, DONALD L	3414 SLEEPY HOLLOW FALLS CHURCH	VA 22044	PAYROLL	01/14/94			
MADDEN, MARIANNE	6127 LIVERPOOL LA ALEXANDRIA	VA 20165	PAYROLL	01/14/94			
POWERS, TIMOTHY P	46642 LYNN HAVEN STERLING	VA 22203	PAYROLL	01/14/94			
HALL, CECILIA	161 W ANNANDALE R FALLS CHURCH	VA 22207	PAYROLL	01/14/94			
WARE, MICHAEL	4901 OLD DOMINION ARLINGTON	VA 22430	PAYROLL	01/14/94			
ACTON, MARK D	900 N STAFFORD ST KEARNEYSVIL	VA 22306	PAYROLL	01/14/94			
JEES, MICHAEL A	P O BOX 729						
JOSEFYAK, THOMAS JOH	7200 LUDWOOD CT ALEXANDRIA						

140

144

UTM REPUBLICAN MAT'L COM	BATCH NO. 1-2013	REPORT NO. 101	SHARED FED/NON FED	ACTIVITY-SCH.	LINE21A	TRIGGER	DATE 11/15/93	P/D 11/15/93	PAGE 11/15/93
EMPLOYEE NAME	STREET ADDRESS	CITY-STATE ADDRESS	ZIP CODE	ADMINISTRATIVE EXPENDITURE	CHECK DATE	AMOUNT THIS PER.	FEDERAL	NON-FED	
WATTS, JAMES A	8735 POPPLAS DR	GILSON CA	95030	PAYROLL	11/15/93				
WHITEHEAD-BACSKAY, N	19002 PAMPANON DR	GERMANTOWN MD	20874	PAYROLL	11/15/93				
WITHEE, JOHN WALKER	838 2ND ST NW	WASHINGTON DC	20037	PAYROLL	11/15/93				
WORTHY, FRANKIE JOYCE	77 V STREET NW	WASHINGTON DC	20001	PAYROLL	11/15/93				
WRIGHT, ANN N	6636 MORRIS COURT	ALEXANDRIA VA	22312	PAYROLL	11/15/93				
YEATES, LAURA E	530 E ALEXANDRIA AVE	ALEXANDRIA VA	22301	PAYROLL	11/15/93				
YOUNG, JENNIFER LYNN	8511 SHARONCREEK	HOUSTON TX	77078	PAYROLL	11/15/93				
ZECH, REGINA ARLINE	6202 ALAMO ST	SPRINGFIELD VA	22150	PAYROLL	11/15/93				
ACHIU, GRAYLINO E R	9712 SCHMIDT DRIVE	BURKE VA	22015	PAYROLL	11/15/93				
ACHIU, GRAYLINO E R	9712 SCHMIDT DRIVE	BURKE VA	22015	PAYROLL	11/15/93				
BERNSEN, CLARK H	3112 CAVE COURT	LAKE RIDGE VA	22192	PAYROLL	11/15/93				
BORIE JR, EDWARD T L	9124 DELMAR DRIVE	BATON ROUGE LA	70815	PAYROLL	11/15/93				
BOSTOCK, MARY R	6717 LITTLE FALLS RD	ARLINGTON VA	22213	PAYROLL	11/15/93				
CHOU, CHIM FONG	1111 TWISTED STALK DR	GAITHERSBURG MD	20878	PAYROLL	11/15/93				
MC BRIDE JR, RICHARD	2330 WENTWORTH DR	MONTGOMERY AL	36106	PAYROLL	11/15/93				
MC MAHON, STEPHANIE	9628 PIERPONT ST	BURKE VA	22015	PAYROLL	11/15/93				
OSADJA, CHARLES	334 CALVERT RD	COLLEGE PARK MD	207410534	PAYROLL	11/15/93				
PERKINS, DANIEL C	1222 N QUINTANA ST	ARLINGTON VA	22205	PAYROLL	11/15/93				
POWERS, JASON A	4747 W BRADDOCK ROAD	ALEXANDRIA VA	22311	PAYROLL	11/15/93				
VIENNEGER, WILLIAM	5451 TREE LINE DRIVE	CENTREVILLE VA	22020	PAYROLL	11/15/93				
WARD, JEFFREY B	2104 BANNING PLACE	HAYTESVILLE MO	26783	PAYROLL	11/15/93				
WEBER, JENNIFER T	543 S SAINT ASAPH ST	ALEXANDRIA VA	22314	PAYROLL	11/15/93				
ANDERSON, CURTIS W	2707 ARDEN FOREST LN	BOWIE MD	20716	PAYROLL	11/15/93				
ANDREWS, KELLY P	300 YOKUM PKWY	ALEXANDRIA VA	22304	PAYROLL	11/15/93				
BIVIANO, JUDY G	4828 NEWCOMB PLACE	ALEXANDRIA VA	22304	PAYROLL	11/15/93				
BURRIDGE, DEAN J	4417 BEECHWOOD RD	UNIVERSITY PARK MD	20782	PAYROLL	11/15/93				
CAREY, TIMOTHY S	175 SUNSET ROAD	MONTROSE NY	10848	PAYROLL	11/15/93				
CARLE, ROBIN H	6866 BERSHIRE CT	ALEXANDRIA VA	22303	PAYROLL	11/15/93				
ENNRICHT, BRAYON R	10808 NW 5TH ST	PARKVILLE MO	64152	PAYROLL	11/15/93				
FEATHER, TONY	5000 OLD COHMAN ROAD	JEFFERSON CITY MO	65109	PAYROLL	11/15/93				
GUIMOND, RUTH C	4089 SO 28TH RD C	ARLINGTON VA	22206	PAYROLL	11/15/93				
HANSEN, DAVID D	2282 E GABEL OAK DR	SANDY UT	84062	PAYROLL	11/15/93				
HOPPER JR, THOMAS A	811 AMBERWOOD CIRCLE	NASHVILLE TN	372211357	PAYROLL	11/15/93				

EXHIBIT 5

2025-04-00

## Transfers Between RNC and NPF

Reporting Period	Transfers from RNC to NPF	Transfers from NPF to RNC	Net outstanding to RNC
5/1/93-5/31/93	100,000.00		100,000.00
7/1/93-7/31/93	100,000.00		200,000.00
8/1/93-8/31/93	100,000.00		300,000.00
9/1/93-9/30/93	100,000.00		400,000.00
10/1/93-10/31/93		150,000.00	250,000.00
12/1/93-12/31/93	60,000.00	50,000.00	260,000.00
1/1/94-1/31/94	190,000.00		450,000.00
2/1/94-2/28/94	110,000.00		560,000.00
3/1/94-3/31/94	365,000.00		925,000.00
4/1/94-4/30/94	290,000.00		1,215,000.00
5/1/94-5/31/94	455,000.00		1,670,000.00
6/1/94-6/30/94	355,000.00		2,025,000.00
7/1/94-7/31/94	70,000.00		2,095,000.00
8/1/94-8/31/94	60,000.00		2,155,000.00
10/20/94-11/28/94		1,600,000.00	555,000.00
3/1/95-3/31/95		19,987.00	535,013.00
4/1/95-4/30/95		21,826.70	513,186.30
5/1/95-5/31/95		17,003.00	496,183.30
7/1/95-7/31/95	200,000.00		696,183.30
Totals	2,555,000.00	1,858,816.70	

Note: As of July 31, 1995

Source: FEC Documents

RIOD 05/01/93 TO 05/31/93  
RUN DATE 06/01/93

R.N.S.E.C.  
ITEMIZED DISBURSEMENT  
SCHEDULE B LINE 05A

PAGE 1

NAME ADDRESS	PURPOSE OF EXPENDITURE	DATE	AMOUNT
COMMITTEE ON ARRANGEMENTS 1992 REP. CONVENTION P.O. BOX 789 ALEXANDRIA VA 22314	VD 6647/92	05/25/93	-13,271.30
CROWLEY, HAUGHEY, HANSON, FOOLE & DIETRICH P.O. BOX 2529 BILLINGS MT 59103	LEGAL COSTS	05/06/93	3,751.82
CROWLEY, HAUGHEY, HANSON, FOOLE & DIETRICH P.O. BOX 2529 BILLINGS MT 59103	LEGAL COSTS	05/06/93	2,640.00
Signet Bank, N.A. 8330 Boone Blvd. McLean, Virginia 22180	Bank charge	05/03/93	564.10
JAMES R. KLAUSER 5375 MARINERS COVE DRIVE MADISON WI 53704	CONSULTING	05/13/93	18,000.00
MARY MALONEY ERNSTEIN & ASSOCIATES P.O. BOX 110 ARLINGTON VA 22210	REIM. TRAVEL/CONSULTING	05/14/93	10,767.15
ACADAMS TRAVEL 103 EAST BEAVER AVENUE STATE COLLEGE PA 16801	REIM. TRAVEL COSTS	05/26/93	19,176.25
NATIONAL POLICY FORUM 1156 FIFTEENTH ST., NW SUITE 550 WASHINGTON DC 20005	LOAN	05/26/93	100,000.00

IOD 07/01/93 TO 07/31/93  
N DATE 08/05/93

R.N.S.E.C.  
ITEMIZED DISBURSEMENT  
SCHEDULE B LINE 05A

PAGE 1

NAME ADDRESS	PURPOSE OF EXPENDITURE	DATE	AMOUNT
CNET 8330 BOONE BLVD VIENNA VA 22182	BANK CHARGES	07/01/93	23.64
CORPORATE COACH CHARTER. 6151 WEST CENTURY BLVD. SUITE 526 LOS ANGELES CA 90045	TRANSPORTATION	07/19/93	1,060.50
MANNY HARMON ORCHESTRAS 8350 SANTA MONICA BLVD. LOS ANGELES CA 90069	MUSICAL SVS	07/30/93	1,250.00
INN BY THE SEA 40 BOWERY BEACH RD. RT. 77 CAPE ELIZABETH ME 04107	LODGING	07/13/93	4,000.00
JAMES R. KLAUSER 5375 MARINERS COVE DRIVE MADISON WI 53704	CONSULTING	07/16/93	9,000.00
W. DAVIS LACKEY 8 OAKLAND AVENUE YARMOUTH ME 04096	REIM MEETING COSTS	07/28/93	500.00
GARY MALONEY BERNSTEIN & ASSOCIATES P.O. BOX 110 ARLINGTON VA 22210	RESEARCH SVS	07/30/93	7,500.00
NATIONAL POLICY FORUM 1156 FIFTEENTH ST., NW SUITE 550 WASHINGTON DC 20005	LOAN	07/13/93	100,000.00
	PAGE TOTAL		123,334.14

PERIOD 08/01/93 TO 08/31/93  
RUN DATE 09/10/93

R.N.S.E.C.  
ITEMIZED DISBURSEMENT  
SCHEDULE B LINE 05A

PAGE 3

NAME ADDRESS	PURPOSE OF EXPENDITURE	DATE	AMOUNT
LT'S INC. NINE FODEN ROAD SOUTH PORTLAND ME 04106	Supplies	08/26/93	5,468.43
JW MARRIOTT HOTEL-CENTURY CITY 2151 AVENUE OF THE STARS LOS ANGELES CA 90067	LODGING	08/26/93	19,272.59
JW MARRIOTT HOTEL-CENTURY CITY 2151 AVENUE OF THE STARS LOS ANGELES CA 90067	LODGING	08/26/93	9,814.18
MCADAMS TRAVEL 103 EAST BEAVER AVENUE STATE COLLEGE PA 16801	TRAVEL COSTS	08/12/93	2,339.50
SHARON MILLER 21 STONEBROOK ROAD CAPE ELIZABETH ME 04107	SUPPLIES	08/11/93	407.84
NATIONAL POLICY FORUM 1156 FIFTEENTH ST., NW SUITE 550 WASHINGTON DC 20005	LOAN	08/12/93	50,000.00
NATIONAL POLICY FORUM 1156 FIFTEENTH ST., NW SUITE 550 WASHINGTON DC 20005	LOAN	08/30/93	50,000.00
REAGAN LIBRARY TRUST FUND 40 PRESIDENTIAL DRIVE SIMI VALLEY CA 93065	ENTRANCE FEE	08/23/93	450.00

PAGE TOTAL 137,752.54

IOD 09/01/93 TO 09/30/93  
JN DATE 10/12/93

R.N.S.E.C.  
ITEMIZED DISBURSEMENT  
SCHEDULE B LINE 05A

PAGE 2

NAME ADDRESS	PURPOSE OF EXPENDITURE	DATE	AMOUNT
GRAND TRAVERSE RESORT P.O. BOX 404 ACME MI 49610	MEETING COSTS	09/23/93	4,140.95
MARINE BAY CANVAS 53 INDUSTRIAL WAY PORTLAND ME 04103	MEETING COSTS	09/09/93	825.00
MICHIGAN DEPT. OF STATE P.O. BOX 20126 LANSING MI 48901	FILING FEE	09/09/93	250.00
DAVID MURRAY & ASSOC. 741 ALEXANDER ROAD PRINCETON NJ 08540	INKIND SENATE REPUBLICAN MAJORITY	09/28/93	15,000.00
DAVID MURRAY & ASSOC. 741 ALEXANDER ROAD PRINCETON NJ 08540	INKIND SENATE REPUBLICAN MAJORITY	09/28/93	15,000.00
DAVID MURRAY & ASSOC. 741 ALEXANDER ROAD PRINCETON NJ 08540	INKIND NEW JERSEY REPUBLICAN PARTY	09/29/93	23,500.00
NATIONAL POLICY FORUM 1156 FIFTEENTH ST., NW SUITE 550 WASHINGTON DC 20005	LOAN	09/14/93	50,000.00
NATIONAL POLICY FORUM 1156 FIFTEENTH ST., NW SUITE 550 WASHINGTON DC 20005	LOAN	09/29/93	50,000.00

PAGE TOTAL

158,715.95



/01/93 TO 12/31/93  
01/06/94

R.N.S.E.C.  
ITEMIZED DISBURSEMENT  
SCHEDULE B LINE 05A

PAGE 4

NAME ADDRESS	PURPOSE OF EXPENDITURE	DATE	AMOUNT
NATIONAL POLICY FORUM 156 FIFTEENTH ST., NW SUITE 550 WASHINGTON DC 20005	LOAN	12/23/93	30,000.00
NATIONAL POLICY FORUM 156 FIFTEENTH ST., NW SUITE 550 WASHINGTON DC 20005	LOAN	12/28/93	30,000.00
MEGA WORLD TRAVEL P.O. BOX 2284 FARRIFIELD VA 22116	AIRFARE	12/15/93	900.00
REFERRED PRINTING & GRAPHICS 1797 WEST THOMAS ROAD SUITE 01 HOENI: AZ 85019	PRINTING	12/15/93	560.18
BRINGERS 80 CONGRESS STREET PORTLAND ME 04101	GIFTS	12/15/93	808.99
EBORAH STEELMAN 55 13TH STREET NW SUITE 220 WASHINGTON DC 20004	REIM. AIRFARE	12/15/93	619.00
SUNFLOWERS FLORIST 1124 NORTH 19TH AVENUE HOENI: AZ 85015	FLOWERS	12/15/93	42.68
JINDA KURDAKOWSKI 4619 NO. 14TH DRIVE HOENI: AZ 85023	REIM. SHIPPING COSTS & S	12/15/93	232.29

PAGE TOTAL

63,163.14

PERIOD 01/01/94 TO 01/31/94  
RUN DATE 02/07/94

R.N.S.E.C.  
ITEMIZED DISBURSEMENT  
SCHEDULE B LINE 05A

PAGE 1

NAME ADDRESS	PURPOSE OF EXPENDITURE	DATE	AMOUNT
JOE BRIENZA 2349 ASHMEAD PLACE WASHINGTON DC 20009	REIM. POSTAGE	01/13/94	232.00
PAUL CURCIO 425 SECOND STREET, NE WASHINGTON DC 20002	REIM TRAVEL	01/13/94	548.00
DIANNA DAGGETT 1800 VALDEZ DRIVE, NE ALBUQUERQUE NM 87112	CONSULTING	01/24/94	5,000.00
NATIONAL POLICY FORUM 1156 FIFTEENTH ST., NW SUITE 550 WASHINGTON DC 20005	LOAN	01/13/94	125,000.00
NATIONAL POLICY FORUM 1156 FIFTEENTH ST., NW SUITE 550 WASHINGTON DC 20005	LOAN	01/27/94	65,000.00
STATE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE STATE HOUSE CONCORD NH 03301	REIM AIRFARE	01/13/94	600.00
THE TARRANCE GROUP 211 NO. UNION #200 ALEXANDRIA VA 22314	REIM TRAVEL	01/13/94	525.00

PAGE TOTAL 196,905.00  
GRAND TOTAL 196,905.00

\*\*\*\*MEMO ENTRY

Harris Farms  
Hwy. 145 & West Oakland  
Coalinga, CA 93210

Air Travel

01/06/94

315.00

00.04.395.1270

PERIOD 02/01/94 TO 02/28/94  
RUN DATE 03/15/94

R.N.S.E.C.  
ITEMIZED DISBURSEMENT  
SCHEDULE B LINE 05A

PAGE 2

NAME  
ADDRESS

PURPOSE OF EXPENDITURE

DATE

AMOUNT

DIANNA DAGGETT  
1800 VALDEZ DRIVE, NE  
ALBUQUERQUE NM 87112

REIM. TELEPHONE CHGS

02/04/94

185.24

FREEMAN DECORATING COMPANY  
P.O. BOX 650036  
DALLAS TX 75265

EQUIPMENT RENTAL

02/04/94

15,358.51

JAMES R. KLAUSER  
5375 MARINERS COVE DRIVE  
MADISON WI 53704

CONSULTING

02/18/94

9,000.00

NATIONAL POLICY FORUM  
1156 FIFTEENTH ST., NW  
SUITE 550  
WASHINGTON DC 20005

LOAN

02/14/94

80,000.00

NATIONAL POLICY FORUM  
1156 FIFTEENTH ST., NW  
SUITE 550  
WASHINGTON DC 20005

LOAN

02/15/94

30,000.00

DON SIPPLE  
2600 VIRGINIA AVE., NW  
SUITE 512  
WASHINGTON DC 20037

REIM. AIRFARE

02/22/94

1,520.00

SPECIAL EVENTS/UNION STATION  
50 MASSACHUSETTS AVE. NE  
WASHINGTON DC 20002

RECEPTION COSTS

02/07/94

13,000.00

SPECIAL EVENTS/UNION STATION  
50 MASSACHUSETTS AVE. NE  
WASHINGTON DC 20002

RECEPTION COST

02/07/94

4,117.22

PAGE TOTAL  
GRAND TOTAL

153,180.97  
195,947.25

03/01/94 TO 03/31/94  
DATE 04/14/94

R.N.S.E.C.  
ITEMIZED DISBURSEMENT  
SCHEDULE B LINE 05A

PAGE 1

NAME ADDRESS	PURPOSE OF EXPENDITURE	DATE	AMOUNT
AMERICAN EXPRESS O. BOX 53765 BOENIX A2 85072	BANK CHARGES	03/01/94	119.40
DE BRIENZA 149 ASHMEAD PLACE WASHINGTON DC 20009	REIM. POSTAGE	03/16/94	261.00
BOWLEY, HAUGHEY, HANSON, DOLE & DIETRICH O. BOX 2529 BILLINGS MT 59103	LEGAL COSTS	03/04/94	9,519.41
FABRIZIO-MCLAUGHLIN & ASSOC. 801 NO. FAIRFAX STREET SUITE 312 ALEXANDRIA VA 22314	IKIND-VT STATE PARY-SURV	03/21/94	10,125.00
BILL MCINTURFF 1033 NO. FAIRFAX ST. SUITE 120 ALEXANDRIA VA 22314	REIM. AIRFARE	03/04/94	568.62
NATIONAL POLICY FORUM 1156 FIFTEENTH ST., NW SUITE 550 WASHINGTON DC 20005	LOAN	03/04/94	55,000.00
NATIONAL POLICY FORUM 1156 FIFTEENTH ST., NW SUITE 550 WASHINGTON DC 20005	LOAN	03/14/94	200,000.00
NATIONAL POLICY FORUM 1156 FIFTEENTH ST., NW SUITE 550 WASHINGTON DC 20005	LOAN	03/18/94	35,000.00

PAGE TOTAL 310,593.43

JD 03/01/94 TO 03/31/94  
DATE 04/14/94

R.N.S.E.C.  
ITEMIZED DISBURSEMENT  
SCHEDULE B LINE 05A

PAGE 2

NAME ADDRESS	PURPOSE OF EXPENDITURE	DATE	AMOUNT
NATIONAL POLICY FORUM 1156 FIFTEENTH ST., NW SUITE 550 WASHINGTON DC 20005	LOAN	03/30/94	75,000.00
STATE TREASURER-OK ETHICS COMMISSION 82A STATE CAPITOL BLDG OKLAHOMA CITY OK 73105	FILING FEE	03/18/94	290.00
		PAGE TOTAL	75,290.00
		GRAND TOTAL	385,883.43

00-04-395

PERIOD 04/01/94 TO 04/30/94  
RUN DATE 05/12/94

R.N.S.E.C.  
ITEMIZED DISBURSEMENT  
SCHEDULE B LINE 05A

PAGE 1

NAME ADDRESS	PURPOSE OF EXPENDITURE	DATE	AMOUNT
AMERICAN EXPRESS P.O. BOX 53765 PHOENIX AZ 85072	SERVICE CHGE	04/30/94	1.99
APPLAUSE ENTERTAINMENT 301 WEST 53RD STREET SUITE 3K NEW YORK NY 10019	TICKETS	04/20/94	4,380.00
ARIZONA BILTMORE 24TH STREET & MISSOURI PHOENIX AZ 85016	CONFERENCE COSTS	04/08/94	4,805.03
DIANNA DAGGETT 1800 VALDEZ DRIVE, NE ALBUQUERQUE NM 87112	REIM TELEPHONE COSTS	04/08/94	171.27
NATIONAL POLICY FORUM 1156 FIFTEENTH ST., NW SUITE 550 WASHINGTON DC 20005	LOAN	04/06/94	15,000.00
NATIONAL POLICY FORUM 1156 FIFTEENTH ST., NW SUITE 550 WASHINGTON DC 20005	LOAN	04/13/94	10,000.00
NATIONAL POLICY FORUM 1156 FIFTEENTH ST., NW SUITE 550 WASHINGTON DC 20005	LOAN	04/14/94	25,000.00
NATIONAL POLICY FORUM 1156 FIFTEENTH ST., NW SUITE 550 WASHINGTON DC 20005	LOAN	04/14/94	90,000.00

PAGE TOTAL

149,358.29

PERIOD 04/01/94 TO 04/30/94  
RUN DATE 05/12/94

R.N.S.E.C.  
ITEMIZED DISBURSEMENT  
SCHEDULE B LINE 05A

PAGE 2

NAME ADDRESS	PURPOSE OF EXPENDITURE	DATE	AMOUNT
NATIONAL POLICY FORUM 1156 FIFTEENTH ST., NW SUITE 550 WASHINGTON DC 20005	LOAN	04/22/94	25,000.00
NATIONAL POLICY FORUM 1156 FIFTEENTH ST., NW SUITE 550 WASHINGTON DC 20005	LOAN	04/28/94	115,000.00
THE RAINBOW ROOM 30 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA NEW YORK NY 10112	RECEPTION COSTS	04/22/94	4,000.00
TODD/ALLAN PRINTING 6011 BLAIR ROAD, NW WASHINGTON DC 20011	PRINTING COST	04/08/94	2,083.96
WEST END PRINTING CO 1101 ATHENS AVENUE RICHMOND VA 23227	INKIND-ALLEN-PRINTING Gov. George Allen Virginia	04/13/94	12,944.14
	PAGE TOTAL		159,028.10
	GRAND TOTAL		308,386.39

PERIOD 05/01/94 TO 05/31/94  
RUN DATE 06/06/94

R.N.S.E.C.  
ITEMIZED DISBURSEMENT  
SCHEDULE B LINE 05A

PAGE 1

NAME ADDRESS	PURPOSE OF EXPENDITURE	DATE	AMOUNT
AMERICAN EXPRESS P.O. BOX 53765 PHOENIX AZ 85072	AMEX CHGS	05/31/94	399.82
JOE BRIENZA 2349 ASHMEAD PLACE WASHINGTON DC 20009	POSTAGE	05/25/94	812.00
BOB DAWSON P.O. BOX 953 NEW YORK NY 10024	MUSIC SVS	05/24/94	500.00
FOUR SEASONS HOTEL 120 EAST DELAWARE PLACE CHICAGO IL 60611	RECEPTION COSTS	05/11/94	10,746.71
GOVERNORS SPECIAL PROJECTS COMMITTEE 210 STATE CAPITOL SALT LAKE CITY UT 84114	TRANSFER	05/05/94	3,000.00
JAMES R. KLAUSER 5375 MARINERS COVE DRIVE MADISON WI 53704	CONSULTING	05/11/94	9,000.00
NATIONAL POLICY FORUM 1156 FIFTEENTH ST., NW SUITE 550 WASHINGTON DC 20005	LOAN	05/05/94	65,000.00
NATIONAL POLICY FORUM 1156 FIFTEENTH ST., NW SUITE 550 WASHINGTON DC 20005	LOAN	05/10/94	45,000.00

PAGE TOTAL 134,458.53



PERIOD 05/01/94 TO 05/31/94  
RUN DATE 06/06/94

R.N.S.E.C.  
ITEMIZED DISBURSEMENT  
SCHEDULE B LINE 05A

PAGE 2

NAME ADDRESS	PURPOSE OF EXPENDITURE	DATE	AMOUNT
NATIONAL POLICY FORUM 1156 FIFTEENTH ST., NW SUITE 550 WASHINGTON DC 20005	LOAN	05/12/94	120,000.00
NATIONAL POLICY FORUM 1156 FIFTEENTH ST., NW SUITE 550 WASHINGTON DC 20005	LOAN	05/17/94	100,000.00
NATIONAL POLICY FORUM 1156 FIFTEENTH ST., NW SUITE 550 WASHINGTON DC 20005	LOAN	05/25/94	50,000.00
NATIONAL POLICY FORUM 1156 FIFTEENTH ST., NW SUITE 550 WASHINGTON DC 20005	LOAN	05/31/94	75,000.00
PREMIER COACH INC. 305 MADISON AVENUE SUITE 546 NEW YORK Y 10165	TRANSPORTATION	05/26/94	698.00
CHRISTINE SAMUELIAN 2320 WISCONSIN AVE NW #207 WASHINGTON DC 20007	REIM. MEALS, LODG & TRAN	05/10/94	250.00
CHRISTINE SAMUELIAN 2320 WISCONSIN AVE NW #207 WASHINGTON DC 20007	REIM. SUPPLIES	05/10/94	720.00
CHRISTINE SAMUELIAN 2320 WISCONSIN AVE NW #207 WASHINGTON DC 20007	REIM. MEALS & TRANS	05/24/94	429.10

PAGE TOTAL 347,097.10

PERIOD 06/01/94 TO 06/30/94  
RUN DATE 07/07/94

R.N.S.E.C.  
ITEMIZED DISBURSEMENT  
SCHEDULE B LINE 05A

PAGE 1

NAME ADDRESS	PURPOSE OF EXPENDITURE	DATE	AMOUNT
AMERICAN EXPRESS P.O. BOX 53765 PHOENIX AZ 85072	AMEX CHGS	06/01/94	233.06
CHAMPION-KAIL TRAIL GROUP 1620 CONNECTICUT AVE NW WASHINGTON DC 20009	AIR TRAVL	06/08/94	3,328.95
CHAMPION-KAIL TRAIL GROUP 1620 CONNECTICUT AVE NW WASHINGTON DC 20009	AIR TRAVEL	06/08/94	3,481.95
GOVERNORS SPECIAL PROJECTS COMMITTEE 210 STATE CAPITOL SALT LAKE CITY UT 84114	TRANSFER	06/07/94	4,929.22
KIRCHMAN CORPORATION P.O. BOX 2269 ORLANDO FL 32802	REFUND	06/28/94	5,000.00
NATIONAL POLICY FORUM 1156 FIFTEENTH ST., NW SUITE 550 WASHINGTON DC 20005	LOAN	06/03/94	50,000.00
NATIONAL POLICY FORUM 1156 FIFTEENTH ST., NW SUITE 550 WASHINGTON DC 20005	LOAN	06/08/94	80,000.00
NATIONAL POLICY FORUM 1156 FIFTEENTH ST., NW SUITE 550 WASHINGTON DC 20005	LOAN	06/09/94	140,000.00

PAGE TOTAL 286,973.18

00,000.00

PERIOD 06/01/94 TO 06/30/94  
RUN DATE 07/07/94

R.N.S.E.C.  
ITEMIZED DISBURSEMENT  
SCHEDULE B LINE 05A

PAGE 2

NAME ADDRESS	PURPOSE OF EXPENDITURE	DATE	AMOUNT
NATIONAL POLICY FORUM 1156 FIFTEENTH ST., NW SUITE 550 WASHINGTON DC 20005	LOAN	06/30/94	85,000.00
THE RAINBOW ROOM 30 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA NEW YORK NY 10112	RECEPTION COSTS	06/03/94	617.00
		PAGE TOTAL	85,617.00
		GRAND TOTAL	372,590.18

06/07/94 15:00:00

OD 07/01/94 TO 07/31/94  
DATE 08/16/94

R.N.S.E.C.  
ITEMIZED DISBURSEMENT  
SCHEDULE B LINE 05A

PAGE 2

NAME ADDRESS	PURPOSE OF EXPENDITURE	DATE	AMOUNT
REN KESSENICH 1 FIRST STREET, SE WASHINGTON DC 20003	REIM. MEALS, LODG & TRAN	07/18/94	577.25
NATIONAL POLICY FORUM 56 FIFTEENTH ST., NW SUITE 550 WASHINGTON DC 20005	LOAN	07/14/94	70,000.00
IGITTE SCHNEIDER 41 149TH STREET LITESTONE NY 11357	REFUND	07/12/94	225.00
	PAGE TOTAL		70,802.25
	GRAND TOTAL		113,272.59
***MEMO ENTRY			
IST Inc. 100 West Putnam Avenue Greenwich, CT 06830	Air Travel	07/08/94	2,978.00

PERIOD 08/01/94 TO 08/31/94  
RUN DATE 09/14/94

R.N.S.E.C.  
ITEMIZED DISBURSEMENT  
SCHEDULE B LINE 05A

PAGE 2

NAME ADDRESS	PURPOSE OF EXPENDITURE	DATE	AMOUNT
JAMES R. KLAUSER 5375 MARINERS COVE DRIVE MADISON WI 53704	CONSULTING	08/02/94	9,000.00
ELIZABETH LAVACK 3091 MAPLE DRIVE, NE ATLANTA GA 30305	CONSULTING	08/08/94	1,000.00
HOWARD LEACH 101 CALIFORNIA STREET SUITE 4310 SAN FRANCISCO CA 94111	REFUND	08/17/94	5,000.00
MANDARIN ORIENTAL HOTEL 1 QUEENS ROAD, CENTAL HONG KONG	LODGING	08/11/94	2,500.00
MANDARIN ORIENTAL HOTEL 1 QUEENS ROAD, CENTAL HONG KONG	LODGING	08/11/94	2,500.00
NATIONAL POLICY FORUM 1156 FIFTEENTH ST., NW SUITE 550 WASHINGTON DC 20005	LOAN	08/12/94	60,000.00
THE FARMER COMPANY P.O. BOX 71085 RENO NV 89570	CONSULTING	08/02/94	2,500.00
VANDENBERG & ASSOCIATES 5532 WOODRUFF AVENUE LAKEWOOD CA 90713	CONSULTING	08/08/94	1,000.00
	PAGE TOTAL		83,500.00

have  
correct pgs

ITEMIZED REPORT COVERING PERIOD FROM DEC 1 93 THRU DEC 31 93 OVER \$200.00

Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Occupation/Place of Business	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Receipt this Period	Calendar YTD
National Policy Forum 229 1/2 Pennsylv Ave Se Washington, DC 20003		DEC 17 93	50,000.00	460,000.00
Natural Gas Supply Assn. 1129 20th Street N.w. Suite 300 Washington, DC 20036		DEC 10 93	15,000.00	15,000.00
Mr & Mrs Robert H Niehaus 15 Overdale Road Rye, NY 10580	Requested but not received DEC 14 93	DEC 14 93	250.00	250.00
North Coast Pathology P.o. Box 4128 Carlsbad, CA 92018		DEC 2 93	1,000.00	1,000.00
Nynex Corporation 1113 Westchester Ave White Plains, NY 10604		DEC 23 93	2,500.00	7,500.00
PARCC Health Care 725 Park Avenue Bridgeport, CT 06604		DEC 10 93	1,250.00	1,250.00
Mr John N Palmer P.o. Box 2469 Jackson, MS 39225	Mobile Telecommunications	DEC 10 93	2,000.00	2,000.00
Phelps Dodge Corporation 2600 N. Central Avenue Phoenix, AZ 85004		DEC 10 93	2,500.00	2,500.00
Philip Morris U S A 120 Park Avenue New York, NY 10017		DEC 7 93	15,000.00	50,000.00
Redline Health Care 8121 Tenth Avenue North Minneapolis, MN 55427		DEC 10 93	5,000.00	5,000.00
Mr & Mrs Howard M Rensin 15221 Centergate Drive Silver Spring, MD 20906	Attorney	DEC 17 93	2,000.00	2,000.00
Republican National Comm 310 First Street Se Washington, DC 20003		DEC 15 93	20,000.00	20,000.00
Revlon Group, Inc 625 Madison Avenue 11th Floor New York, NY 10022		DEC 7 93	10,000.00	25,000.00
Mr Frank E Richardson 375 Park Avenue Suite 303 New York, NY 10152	Chairman Mersary Capital Corp	DEC 7 93	5,000.00	5,000.00
Mr Volney Richmond Jr 1111 Third Avenue Suite 2500 Seattle, WA 98101	Retired	DEC 14 93	500.00	500.00

3 8 7 7 401034395-1282

ITEMIZED REPORT COVERING PERIOD FROM OCT 1 93 THRU OCT 31 93 OVER \$200.00

Full Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Occupation/Place of Business	Date (month, day, year)	Amount of Each Receipt this Period	Calendar YTD
NRA Political Victory Fund 1600 Rhode Island Ave Nw Washington, DC 20036		OCT 6 93 OCT 8 93	125,000.00 150,000.00	275,000.00
Natl Assn of Chain Drug Stores Po Box 1417-D49 Alexandria, VA 22314		OCT 19 93	15,000.00	15,000.00
National Policy Forum 229 1/2 Pennsylvania Ave. Washington, DC 20003		OCT 18 93	150,000.00	150,000.00
Nationwide Insurance Co. One Nationwide Plz Columbus, OH 43216		OCT 21 93	5,000.00	5,000.00
Natl Rep Congressional Committee 320 First St Se Washington, DC 20003		OCT 22 93 OCT 8 93 OCT 8 93 OCT 28 93	25,000.00 15,316.00 13,789.30 12,500.00	319,105.30
Mr & Mrs Michael W Naumann 6307 Bostonian #3 San Antonio, TX 78218	Trucker Contract Freighters	OCT 8 93	295.00	295.00
Ms Nancy F Nelson 10 Lincoln Ave Nantucket, MA 02554	Requested but not received OCT 5 93	OCT 5 93	295.00	295.00
Rick Nelson Po Box 540 Atmore, AL 36504	Requested but not received OCT 27 93	OCT 27 93	330.00	330.00
Norwest Corporation 6th & Marquette Streets Norwest Center Minneapolis, MN 55479		OCT 27 93	5,000.00	5,000.00
Ohio Farm Bureau Feder. 141 Walnut Ridge Lane Westerville, OH 43081		OCT 14 93	330.00	330.00
Ortega Interiors 13281 Nw 43 Avenue Opa-Locka, FL 33054		OCT 21 93	250.00	250.00
Mr Jorge M Perez 3100 Sw 109th Ave Miami, FL 33165	Requested but not received OCT 6 93	OCT 6 93	295.00	295.00
Mr Charles L Pospisil 201 W Lewis New Albany, IN 47150	Requested but not received OCT 5 93	OCT 5 93	295.00	295.00

December 1, 1994

\*\*\* Republican National State Election Committee \*\*\*  
 FEC Report  
 Itemized Report for Period: 10/20/94 Thru 11/28/94  
 Year to Date Total Over \$200.00

Name Address City, State Zip	Employer/ Occupation	Receipt Date	Receipts This Period	Aggregate YTD
Mr. & Mrs. Fristoe Mullins Apartment 4-e 200 S Brentwood Blvd Clayton, MO 63105-1633	Retired	10/21/94	500.00	\$500.00
Mr. Fristoe Mullins 200 South Brentwood Boulevard Saint Louis, MO 63105-1601	Retired	10/27/94	500.00	\$500.00
Multicolor Specialities, Inc. Box 50539 2101 South 54th Avenue Cicero, IL 60650		10/27/94	111.00	\$321.00
Mrs. Gwendolyn Murphy 1441 Carlton Road Hillsborough, CA 94010		10/27/94	750.00	\$750.00
Mr. William C Myler 1054 North Dr Mount Pleasant, MI 48858-2851	Information Requested 10/21/94	10/21/94	500.00	\$500.00
Ms. Veronica Nagymihaly 2520 S Miami Ave Miami, FL 33129-1530	Self-employed Owner - Apartment Buildings	11/04/94	500.00	\$500.00
Naiman Group, Ltd 910 16th #500 Denver, CO 80202		10/21/94	250.00	\$290.00
Nat'l. Republican Cong. Comm. 320 First Street S.e. Washington, DC 20003		11/07/94	400,000.00	\$400,000.00
National Policy Forum Southeast 229 1/2 Pennsylvania Avenue Washington, DC 20003		10/20/94	762,500.00	1,600,000.00
		10/20/94	75,000.00	
		10/20/94	762,500.00	
Natpac 2000 Individual Account Suite 207 600 Pennsylvania Avenue S.e. Washington, DC 20003		11/07/94	5,000.00	\$5,000.00



April 6, 1995

\*\*\* Republican National State Election Committee \*\*\*  
 FEC Report  
 Itemized Report for Period: 03/01/95 Thru 03/31/95  
 Year to Date Total Over \$200.00

Name Address City, State Zip	Employer/ Occupation	Receipt Date	Receipts This Period	Aggregate YTD
National Policy Forum Southeast 229 1/2 Pennsylvania Avenue Washington, DC 20003		03/03/95	19,987.00	\$19,987.00
Nfib Safe Trust Suite 300 53 Century Boulevard Nashville, TN 37214		03/29/95	5,000.00	\$20,000.00
Nichell Moulding Company, Inc P.O. Box 1502 3015 Mobile Drive Elkhart, IN 46515		03/03/95	500.00	\$500.00
Nra-institute For Legislative Action 11250 Waples Mill Road Fairfax, VA 22030-7400		03/14/95	40,000.00	\$40,000.00
Ocean Spray Cranberries, Inc. Lakeville - Middleboro, MA 02349		03/29/95	15,000.00	\$15,000.00
Ogden Martin Systems, Inc. 40 Lane Road Fairfield, NJ 07006		03/16/95 03/22/95	1,500.00 5,000.00	\$6,500.00
Ohio Home Builders Assoc. Suite 700 17 South High Street Columbus, OH 43215		03/03/95	1,500.00	\$1,500.00
Options, Inc 240 Corporate Boulevard Norfolk, VA 22030		03/14/95	5,000.00	\$5,000.00
Oxford Capital Corporation Suite L-260 10005 Old Columbia Road Columbia, MD 21046-1700		03/09/95 03/23/95	96.00 2,500.00	\$5,096.00
Pacella Trucking Express Inc 2558 South Damen Avenue Chicago, IL 60608-5207		03/09/95	96.00	\$296.00

44

75 Feb - no payment  
 March " "

June 7, 1995

\*\*\* Republican National State Election Committee \*\*\*  
 FEC Report  
 Itemized Report for Period: 05/01/95 Thru 05/31/95  
 Year to Date Total Over \$200.00

Name Address City, State Zip	Employer/ Occupation	Receipt Date	Receipts This Period	Aggregate YTD
Mutual Medical Plans, Inc. Commerce Bank Building Peoria, IL 61602		05/19/95	200.00	\$700.00
Mutual Of Omaha Companies Mutual Of Omaha Plaza Omaha, NE 68175		05/31/95	20,000.00	\$20,000.00
M. W. Forest Fibre Prod., Inc. Unit D 2612 Pacific Highway E Pife, WA 98424-1045		05/11/95	96.00	\$296.00
Naser Distributor Incorp. 1135 North 7th Street San Jose, CA 95112		05/19/95	100.00	\$300.00
National Policy Forum Southeast 229 1/2 Pennsylvania Avenue Washington, DC 20003		05/03/95	17,003.00	\$58,816.70
Mr. John F. Nickoll 821 Whittier Drive Beverly Hills, CA 90210	Foothill Group President & C. E. O	05/19/95	5,000.00	\$5,000.00
Norpac Food Sales P. O. Box 1800 4350 S. W. Galewood Street Lake Oswego, OR 97035		05/19/95	250.00	\$250.00
Nynex Government Affairs 1113 Westchester Avenue White Plains, NY 10604		05/04/95	15,000.00	\$15,000.00
Mrs. Mary O'connor 11905 Lakewood Palos Park, IL 60464	Information Requested 05/11/95	05/11/95	246.00	\$246.00
Olin Godfrey Co. Int'l. P. O. Box 5314 Cincinnati, OH 45206		05/19/95	5,000.00	\$5,000.00

PERIOD 07/01/95 TO 07/31/95  
RUN DATE 08/11/95

RNSEC  
ITEMIZED DISBURSEMENT  
SCHEDULE B LINE 05A

PAGE 2

NAME ADDRESS	PURPOSE OF EXPENDITURE	DATE	AMOUNT
JAMES R. KLAUSER 5375 MARINERS COVE DRIVE MADISON WI 53704	CONSULTING	07/13/95	15,000.00
NATIONAL POLICY FORUM 1156 FIFTEENTH ST., NW SUITE 550 WASHINGTON DC 20005	LOAN	07/28/95	200,000.00
OMNI HOTEL AT CHARLESTON PLACE P.O. BOX 10381 NEWARK NJ 07193	MEETING COST	07/13/95	15,344.27
JOYCE VALDEZ & ASSOCIATES 1134 RANCHO ROAD ARCADIA CA 91106	CONSULTING	07/13/95	139.25
WARREN AMERICAN OIL CO. P.O. BOX 470372 TULSA OK 741147	REFUND	07/07/95	5,000.00
	PAGE TOTAL		235,483.52
	GRAND TOTAL		338,474.55



PAGE 3

## ITEMIZED DISBURSEMENTS

Page 1 of 1

FOR LINE NUMBER  
21

Original Memo

Information compiled from such Reports and Statements may not be sold or used by any person for the purpose of soliciting contributions or for any other purpose, including the name and address of any political committee to solicit contributions from such committee.

## NAME OF COMMITTEE

National Republican Congressional Committee

Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code	Purpose of Disbursement	Date	Amount This Period
1. Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code JOHN FORD CENTER 15000 BOB HOPE DRIVE RANCHO MIRAGE, CA 92270	Flowers, Gifts, Etc. Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> General Other	02-27-95	\$5,000.00
2. Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code CABLING SOLUTIONS, INC. PO BOX 7393 BALTIMORE, MD 21227	Purpose of Disbursement Remodeling/Moving Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> General Other	02-09-95	\$208.80
3. Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code DC TREASURER PO BOX 679 SEN FRANKLIN STATION WASHINGTON, DC 20044	Purpose of Disbursement Tax, Sales-Broadcasting Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> General Other	02-17-95	\$54.12
4. Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code NATIONAL POLICY FORUM 2029 1/2 PENNSYLVANIA AVE., SE WASHINGTON, DC 20003	Purpose of Disbursement Flowers, Gifts, Etc. Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> General Other	02-13-95	\$200,000.00
5. Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code NIELSEN, MERKSAMER, PARRINEL MUELLER & NAYLOR 770 L STREET, SUITE 800 SACRAMENTO, CA 95814	Purpose of Disbursement Legal Services-Trust Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> General Other	02-01-95	\$49.29
6. Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code NORTHERN TELECOM FINANCE CORP P.O. BOX 951287 DALLAS, TX 753951287	Purpose of Disbursement Trust Center's Letter Payments Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> General Other	02-23-95	\$2,396.94
7. Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE 310 FIRST STREET, SE WASHINGTON, DC 20003	Purpose of Disbursement Bldg. Operating Expenses Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> General Other	02-09-95	\$1,000.00
8. Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code SAFEMASTERS LOCKSMITHS 2700 GARFIELD AVENUE SILVER SPRING, MD 20910	Purpose of Disbursement Travel Disbursement for: <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> General Other	02-09-95	\$1,000.00
9. Name, Mailing Address and ZIP Code			

SUBTOTAL of Disbursements

TOTAL This Period

0621.562.40.00  
00.04.395.1290

EXHIBIT 7

**N A T I O N A L P O L I C Y F O R U M**

*A Republican Center for the Exchange of Ideas*

00-04-395-1291

## II THE CHALLENGE

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AFTER TWELVE YEARS OF REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP — THE LONGEST PERIOD OF CONTINUOUS WHITE HOUSE OCCUPANCY BY A SINGLE PARTY IN 40 YEARS — AMERICANS OPTED FOR CHANGE.

In characteristically American fashion, they put aside their doubts about an unproven opposition and placed the nation on a markedly different course in a difficult and dangerous time.

For Republicans and other conservatives the election loss will surely prompt a lot of rethinking but not about fundamentals. Our faith in solidly conservative beliefs is itself solid. As ever, we believe in Republican principles such as these:

- that individual freedom and individual responsibility are bedrock strengths of American society;
- that more government is not the same as better government;
- that Americans are not taxed too little;

- that government is too big and costs too much;
- that we must keep the national strength which kept us free; and,
- that in a world so changed and at once so full of promise and of peril, America must lead.

And, too, we believe that politics in this country is and ought to be party politics, that parties ought to function as links between people and their government -- not only as instruments of accountability, but also as the means for inviting and introducing, and for testing and refining ideas and for accommodating them to the diverse desires of a pluralistic people who despite what they may hold separately can say in common: "We hold these truths."

Hence the National Policy Forum: A Republican center for the exchange of ideas.

**"We have been set apart by our faith in the ideals of democracy, of free men and free markets, and of the extraordinary possibilities that lie within seemingly ordinary men and women."**

**-Ronald Reagan**



## **II THE MISSION**

EVERY WHITE HOUSE, REPUBLICAN OR DEMOCRAT, TRADITIONALLY CONTROLS THE POLICY WING OF ITS PARTY - A POLITICAL FACT OF LIFE.

As a result, the grassroots backbone of any party has a diminished role in setting the tone and substance of the national party agenda. Whenever citizen participation diminishes, the risk of losing touch with the real-life concerns of everyday Americans increases. Today, conservative thought remains closer to the goals and viewpoint of mainstream America than any other philosophy. But we must reestablish the channels of communication between concerned individuals in communities across this country whose energy and ideas spearheaded the Reagan Revolution in the 80's.

There are many difficult issues facing our nation. The solution to the challenges before us will be difficult and complex. While our future may be uncertain, the answers to the problems facing this country will not be found in Washington, D.C. They

will flow from the workplaces, the meeting halls, the local council chambers, the churches and civic groups, the board rooms and the living rooms of America.

Innovative solutions to our nation's problems will come from the common-sense of hard-working Americans. Now is the moment to renew and build on this traditional strength.

**Solutions to our nation's problems will come from the common-sense of ordinary Americans.**

## **II THE TOOLS**

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THE NATIONAL POLICY FORUM OFFERS AN OPPORTUNITY TO INCREASE GRASSROOTS PARTICIPATION.

It gives grassroots activists a real chance to make a difference in defining how the country is governed. This approach to problem solving through citizen participation is founded on the proposition that Republican principles are sound and Republican ideas are ideas that work. The NPF will journey on a year-long search for those creative and innovative ideas that reflect Republican and conservative philosophy and provide new directions in public policy for leaders at all levels.

### **■ STRUCTURE**

The NPF will be a non-profit tax-exempt organization under section 501(c)(4) of the Internal Revenue Code. A 25-member Board of Directors comprised of distinguished Republicans and an Advisory Council of prominent individuals will provide leadership. The work of the Forum will be accomplished

through Policy Councils, each headed by a chairman of national stature. Membership will include Senators, Members of Congress, Governors, legislators, other state and locally elected officials, former Republican Administration officials, Party leaders at the state, county and sub-county levels, Republican finance leaders and contributors, and representatives of business, industry, labor, think-tanks and academia. Each council will be made up of 50-75 members and will be responsible for a specific policy area.

### **■ GRASSROOTS SURVEY**

To begin this national effort to seek input and ideas from every level, the Republican National Committee will distribute this summer an in-depth questionnaire expected to reach some 600,000 activists. The NPF has requested that the RNC share the results of this project -- the largest survey research project ever attempted. The National Policy Forum seeks

**The National  
Policy Forum  
seeks a vibrant  
exchange of  
ideas.**

a vibrant *exchange* of ideas, so the results of the questionnaire will be shared with all respondents, along with Republican elected officials at every level, party leaders, opinion shapers, civic leaders, the news media, and all interested citizens.

## ■ REGIONAL CONFERENCES FOR LOCALLY ELECTED OFFICIALS

The NPF will follow the grassroots survey with a series of regional conferences bringing together elected officials from federal, state, and local governments to discuss the goals of the NPF and provide their thoughts and ideas on current public policy issues. These conferences will focus attention on the NPF goals and ensure those who deal every day with the serious problems facing our country at the state and local levels are brought into this process in its initial stages.

## ■ TOWN MEETINGS

Each of the Policy Councils will conduct a public and intensely participatory exchange

of ideas by holding town meetings across the country. These meetings will serve as a forum of ideas and opinions with input from community, opinion and Republican leaders as well as regional experts in the Policy Council's issue area. With the emphasis of these meetings on grassroots participation most meetings will be organized by state and local Republicans and other volunteers who will recruit participants and generate public and media interest.

Each Policy Council will produce a preliminary report by early 1994 summarizing the ideas, views and recommendations of the expected thousands of individuals joining in the town meeting discussions.

Support staff for the councils will be kept to a minimum. Each policy council will have a small staff (typically one paid full-time employee) and a volunteer task force of six to fifteen experts.

**The Policy Councils will conduct a public and intense, participatory exchange of ideas.**

## II COMMUNITY LEADER CONFERENCES

The last step in the "idea gathering" stage of this project will be a series of conferences for community leaders held across the country between mid-January and mid-June, 1994. Three or four policy councils will be selected to make presentations at each conference, and more expert testimony and citizen participation is also expected to be gathered.

## III LISTENING TO AMERICA: REPUBLICAN IDEAS THAT WORK

This extraordinary project, the most broadly-based political process ever conducted by any organization, will generate volumes of thought-provoking ideas and new directions for consideration. The final product of the NPF process will be the issuance of a comprehensive report, *"Listening to America: Republican Ideas that Work."* This document, which will include final reports from each council as well as other "white papers" the councils may wish to

submit, is now tentatively scheduled for release by July 4, 1994.

*"Listening to America"* will be a resource for all concerned Americans, particularly elected officials and candidates -- an "idea bank" to spur legislative action or help refine policy decision-making at every level. For campaigns it may help in crafting individual candidate's strategy, message and tactics.

## IV COMMONSENSE

In the fall of 1993, NPF will also revive the popular journal -- Commonsense. Commonsense will be published quarterly and provide an outlet for serious Republican and conservative thought on current public policy issues. Guest contributors will be encouraged, whether they are distinguished Republican leaders or new conservative thinkers. Commonsense will enhance the policy debate and provide another outlet for the exchange of ideas.

**"The essential things in men are the things they hold in common, not the things they hold separately."**

**-G.K. Chesterton**

## **II THE VICTORY OF IDEAS**

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REMAINING TRUE TO OUR PRINCIPLES, WE MUST GENERATE INNOVATIVE PROGRAMS THAT WILL SOLVE PROBLEMS IN A RAPIDLY CHANGING WORLD.

The National Policy Forum has been created to help provide the raw materials -- the common sense ideas and vigorous debate.

NPF can be instrumental in reviving grassroots activism; but to be successful, it will take the support of many Americans: elected officials, party leaders, financial supporters, academicians, community and business leaders. Your contribution to this project whether it is your money, your time or your ideas is essential.

The National Policy Forum will serve as a catalyst for action.

**"The contest  
for votes must  
also be a  
contest of ideas."**

**-Bill Brock**

00.04.395.1298

EXHIBIT 8

# "Listening to America"

## National Policy Forum

*A Republican Center  
for the  
Exchange of Ideas*

**A Prospectus**

## **"LISTENING TO AMERICA"**

### **The Call to Americans for Ideas and Solutions Based on Fundamental Principles**

The National Policy Forum is founded on three simple premises:

- that fundamentally, ideas make the difference in politics;
- that traditionally, ideas that make a difference have been associated with political parties; and,
- that currently, workable ideas are more likely to be found at the grassroots than in Washington.

### **Citizen Participation in Advancing Ideas for Governing Based on Common Principles**

The National Policy Forum, a Republican Center for the Exchange of Ideas, is reaching out to citizens from all walks of life to re-establish channels of communication across America. Rather than looking to Washington for answers to America's problems, the National Policy Forum looks to our citizens whose energy and ideas have always been pillars of successful American government and policy. We hope to find ideas for national policy and to discover the innovative solutions that flow from the workplace, the meeting halls, the local council chambers, the churches and civic groups, the boardrooms, and the living rooms of America.



## **THE BELIEF**

This far-reaching dialogue with Americans is framed around the following principles, long associated with both Republican philosophy and the Republican sense of "how the world works"; the principles embodied in the aspirations and beliefs of mainstream America:

- that individual freedom and individual responsibility are bedrock strengths of American society;
- that individuals are seldom found individually, but rather in the smaller communities at the vital center of society, the first of which is the family;
- that more government is not the same as better government;
- that Americans are not taxed too little;
- that government is too big and costs too much;
- that federal government has usurped roles better left to individuals and families;
- that the federal government's mandates to state and local governments have resulted in rising taxes and gridlock in progress toward solutions;
- that we must keep the national strength which kept us free; and,
- that in a world so changed and at once so full of promise and of peril, America must lead.

Through the National Policy Forum, grassroots citizen participation will provide the solid foundation for building on and advancing conservative principles on the purpose, role, and mission of the federal government for the 21st century. It is the commonsense of hardworking Americans that has always brought innovative solutions to meet our nation's challenges. Our vision and mission is to tap into their vision and mission for their government.

# **THE STRUCTURE**

## **The Forum's Structure and Tools: Setting Forth Basic Principles and Debating Innovative Ideas**

The NPF is organized as a non-profit, tax exempt organization under section 501(c)(4) of the Internal Revenue Code. A Board of Directors composed of distinguished Americans, leaders from public and private sectors, and a Coordinating Council of prominent individuals, provides direction.

### **The Board of Directors**

**Haley Barbour, Chairman, National Policy Forum**

**Michael E. Baroody, President, National Policy Forum**

**Senator Don Nickles, Oklahoma;  
Chairman, Senate Republican Policy Committee**

**Congressman Bob Michel, Illinois;  
Republican House Leader**

**Governor George V. Voinovich, Ohio**

**Senator Teresa Lubbers, State Senator,  
Indianapolis, Indiana**

**Mayor James A. Garner, Village of Hempstead, New York**

**Gaddi Vasquez, Third District Supervisor,  
Orange County, California**

**Oren L. Benton, Chairman and CEO, CONCORD**

**William E. Brock, former U.S. Secretary of Labor**

**Gwendolyn S. King, Senior Vice President, Corporate and  
Public Affairs, Philadelphia Electric Company**

**W. L. Lyons Brown, Jr., Chairman, Brown-Forman Corp.,  
NPF Finance Chairman**

# **POLICY COUNCILS**

**The Work of the Forum Will Be Accomplished  
Through Policy Councils, Each Headed  
by Two Co-Chairs of National Stature.**

Members of the Policy Councils will include Senators, Members of Congress, Governors, state legislators, other state and locally elected officials, former Administration officials, community leaders, finance leaders, and representatives of business, industry, labor, think tanks and academia. Each Council will be made up of 50-75 members. Each Council will address and be responsible for specific policy areas.

## **The Policy Councils**

**Free Individuals in a Free Society**

**Reforming Health Care**

**Strengthening the Family**

**Safe and Prosperous Neighborhoods**

**Improving Schools and Education**

**Stimulating Economic Growth and Workplace  
Opportunity**

**Entrepreneurship and Small Business**

**Reducing the Size and Scope of Government**

**Natural Resources and Energy**

**The Environment**

**Competing in the Global Marketplace**

**U.S. Leadership in a Changing World**

**Maintaining Peace through Strength**

**Reforming the Legal and Regulatory Systems**

## **THE TOOLS**

### **Grassroots Meetings Throughout the Country**

Each of the Policy Councils will conduct a search for ideas by holding public and intensely participatory grassroots forums across the country. These meetings will serve as a means for citizens, business, and community leaders to express their ideas and opinions about public policy.

With the emphasis on grassroots participation, the forums will be coordinated with state and local organizations, including universities and other educational institutions, associations, civic and community groups, and other volunteers who will recruit participants from the general public.

Forums have already been held in such diverse areas as Orlando, Florida; Ft. Mitchell, Kentucky; Cincinnati, Ohio; Billings, Montana; and, Salt Lake City, Utah. NPF went to these areas early in its operation to listen and to facilitate debate on subjects of great interest in the lives of these citizens.

Voices were heard on crime in Orlando and Cincinnati, on education in Ft. Mitchell, and on government land issues in Billings and Salt Lake City. These early forums have shown that innovative ideas to resolve challenges facing our country can indeed be found at the grassroots and that citizens want and demand to be heard about what government's role should be in their lives; what it does well or badly; and, where it can perform a better, more consultative role. Americans are paying for government's products that are not performing. They want and demand better. They want to have a voice in making it better.

### **Listening to America**

An inclusive report, to be published in summer 1994, will document the ideas and working solutions generated during the year-long, most broadly-based political process ever. "Listening to America" will serve as an idea bank to spur legislative action and to help refine policy decision-making at every level.

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***Commonsense:  
A Republican Journal of  
Thought and Opinion***

The National Policy Forum will also publish the popular journal, last seen in the early 1980s, *Commonsense: A Republican Journal of Thought and Opinion*. This journal will again be a source for provocative thinking and lively debate about parties, politics, and policy and will seek authors who can stimulate such thinking and debate, be they Republican, Democratic, or unaffiliated. *Commonsense*, which will be published quarterly, will enhance the policy debate and provide another outlet for the exchange of ideas.

**Advancing Citizens' Ideas and  
Workable Solutions**

The political process — where policy is debated — should link citizens with their government. For too long the American public has been shut out of that process. As Americans embrace those conservative, Republican-oriented principles and increasingly turn away from big government premises that dominate our national debate, the National Policy Forum's nationwide dialogue at the grassroots will strengthen those links.

## THE BUDGET PLAN

### **The NPF Operates with Funds Supplied by Contributors Who Value the Introduction of Conservative Ideas into the Public Policy Debate.**

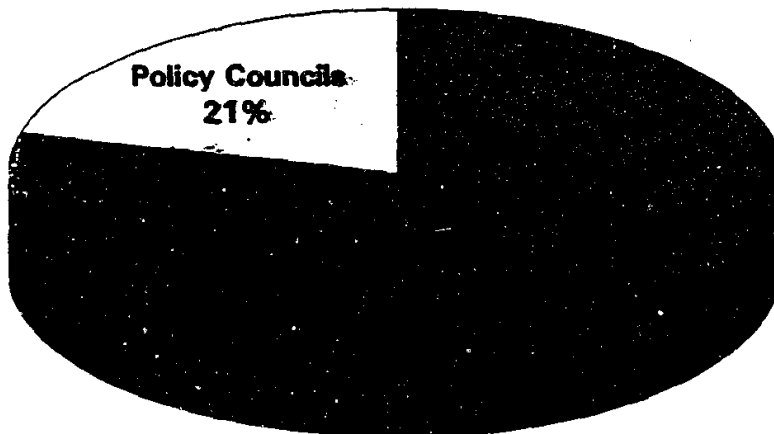
The NPF's plan for the first year contemplates an intense schedule of public meetings. As many as 60 or more forums held under the title "Listening to America" are being conducted in every region of the country.

Accordingly, the first year of the budget for the Forum —\$4.5 million—is approximately twice that expected to be needed in the following years.

Contributions are being solicited from individuals, corporations and business, trade and professional associations in accord with the laws governing entities organized under Section 501(c)(4) of the Internal Revenue Code. This provision of the Code allows for contributions to be disclosed to the IRS but not publicly, and can be made in amounts not subject to any legal limits. Though

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**Total Budget June '93 - August '94: \$4,503,000**



not tax deductible by the contributor, such contributions are being solicited from among a wide spectrum of sources who believe in the importance of ideas to politics and of politics to governance.

The NPF has a full-time staff to help manage the vigorous first-year schedule of activity. Staff efforts will be augmented by substantial volunteer effort, both in the policy work of the Councils and in the management of meetings and events held in Washington and around the country. It is expected that the activities of the Policy Councils, listening to America in meetings at the grassroots, will consume almost 2 of every 3 first-year Forum budget dollars. The program is "volunteer-intensive" rather than staff-led, and the papers produced by the Councils and the report, "Listening to America," which will be published in summer 1994, will be written by Forum volunteers.

To ensure no Council decisions are affected by knowledge of any contributions to the Forum, contributions and contributors will be kept confidential in accord with section 501(c)(4) of the Internal Revenue Code.

## **THE VICTORY OF IDEAS**

### **Remaining True to Our Principles, We Must Generate Innovative Programs that Will Solve Problems in a Rapidly Changing World.**

The National Policy Forum has been created to help provide the raw materials—commonsense ideas and vigorous debate.

NPF can be instrumental in reviving a two-way flow of communication between people and their government and political institutions. However, to be successful, it will take the support of many Americans: elected officials and policymakers, financial supporters, academicians, community and business leaders.

Your contribution to this project, whether it is your money, your time, or your ideas, is essential to reinvigorating the bond between the American people and American domestic, defense, and international policy.



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EXHIBIT 9

# NATIONAL POLICY FORUM

*A Republican Center for the Exchange of Ideas*

HALEY BARBOUR  
Chairman

MICHAEL E. BAROODY  
President

N E W S R E L E A S E

For Release:

Tues., March 1, 1994

Contact: Mary Crawford

Lisa Estrada

(202) 544-2900

## PROMINENT LEADERS TURN THE TABLES IN HISTORIC, GRASSROOTS POLICY-DEVELOPMENT INITIATIVE

WASHINGTON – A "Who's Who" of prominent community, business and political leaders have joined together in a historic initiative to give average Americans a voice in the national policy debate, National Policy Forum Chairman Haley Barbour announced today.

"A diverse array of community activists, leaders from business and industry, and local, state and federal officials have been drawn together by a common commitment to our mission: to reinvolve the American people at the grassroots level in the national policy debate," Barbour said. "I'm extremely proud of the exceptional quality of the policy council leaders."

The group – including many considered potential candidates for the 1996 Republican presidential nomination – will spearhead the National Policy Forum's effort as co-chairs of its 14 Policy Councils, each tasked with exploring the concerns and ideas of Americans at the grassroots level in specific issue areas.

Through the Forum's "Listening to America" project, Policy Councils will solicit the views and ideas of Americans at 60 to 100 grassroots public meetings and other outreach efforts in communities across the country. The ideas and viewpoints they hear at these local-level meetings will then be heard by the nation when the Forum publishes its "Listening to America" report in July, complete with policy recommendations.

The Forum has held grassroots-level public forums in nine states and plans are underway for dozens more across the country in the next 100 days. (Highlights of the schedule of upcoming forums are attached.)

"Our 'Listening to America' report will say to the nation: 'This is the agenda we would propose if we were in power.' And the 'we' in that statement isn't some elite think-tank, or select group of special interests; it's the parents, teachers, crime victims, factory workers, farmers, ranchers, and small business men and women in communities all across this country who share our fundamental belief in Republican principles of small government and more freedom, and care enough about the future of their country to share their ideas with us," Barbour said.

—more—

- \* Former National Drug Control Policy Director and Education Secretary **William J. Bennett** and **Carol Lannone**, a widely published scholar and instructor at New York University's Gallatin Division, will co-chair the Policy Council focused on *Free Individuals in a Free Society*.
- \* South Carolina Gov. **Carroll A. Campbell, Jr.**, chairman of the National Governors' Association, and U.S. Rep. **Nancy Johnson** (6th Dist.-Conn.), author of the first comprehensive health care reform bill in Congress, will solicit viewpoints on *Reforming Health Care*.
- \* The Policy Council on *Making Neighborhoods Safe and Prosperous* will be led by former U.S. Attorney General **William Barr** and U.S. Rep. **Deborah Pryce** (15th-Ohio), a former judge and prosecutor hailed for her work on behalf of crime victims.
- \* Wisconsin Gov. **Tommy Thompson** and Seattle businesswoman **Nona Brazier**, co-owner of Northwest Recovery Systems, Inc., will lead the exploration of issues relating to *Strengthening the Family*.
- \* *Improving Schools and Education* will be the focus of the Policy Council headed by former labor secretary and member of Congress from Illinois, **Lynn Martin**, and **Lamar Alexander**, former education secretary and governor of Tennessee.
- \* California business leader **Noel Irwin-Hentschel**, who founded American Tours International, Inc., at the age of 24, and U.S. Sen. **Phil Gramm** of Texas will lead the Policy Council on *Stimulating Economic Growth and Workplace Opportunity*.
- \* Former Secretary of Housing and Urban Development **Jack Kemp**, also a co-director of Empower America, and Maryland businesswoman **Michele Dyson**, a successful small businesswoman and outspoken advocate of small and minority-owned business, are co-chairs of the *Entrepreneurship and Small Business Policy Council*.
- \* Massachusetts Gov. **William Weld** and Nevada Secretary of State **Cheryl Lau** will co-chair the Policy Council on *Reducing the Size and Scope of Government*.
- \* *Natural Resources and Energy* issues will be explored by the Policy Council headed by U.S. Sen. **Malcolm Wallop** of Wyoming and former Commodity Futures Trading Commission Chairman **Wendy Gramm** of Texas.
- \* U.S. Sens. **Richard Lugar** of Indiana and **Nancy Kassebaum** of Kansas lead the Policy Council on *U.S. Leadership in a Changing World*.
- \* The Policy Council on *Maintaining Peace Through Strength* is co-chaired by former U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations **Jeanne Kirkpatrick** and former Secretary of Defense and Member of Congress from Wyoming **Dick Cheney**.
- \* **Marilyn Tucker Quayle** and Judge **Robert Bork** head the Policy Council focused on *Reforming the Legal and Regulatory Systems*.
- \* *The Environment Policy Council* is co-chaired by former U.S. Sen. **Bob Kasten** of Wisconsin and Colorado Attorney General **Gale Norton**.
- \* Former U.S. Trade Representative **Carla Hills** and **Oren L. Benton**, chairman and CEO of CONCORD and member of the Board of Directors of the National Policy Forum, will lead the Policy Council discussing ideas for *Competing in the Global Marketplace*.

###

# SNEAK PREVIEW: HIGHLIGHTS OF THE FORUM SCHEDULE

\* This is a partial schedule of upcoming "Listening to America" forums. For updates on the schedule, call the National Policy Forum at (202) 544-2900. Forums are open to the public, free of charge. All Americans, regardless of party affiliation, who have ideas to offer on meeting the nation's chief challenges are encouraged to participate.

**SAN DIEGO, CA**  
Peace through Strength  
March 4

**DETROIT, MI**  
Crime's Impact on Small Business  
March 9

**LAFAYETTE, LA**  
Natural Resources & Energy  
March 10

**DELOIT, WI**  
Strengthening the Family  
March 10

**ATLANTA, GA**  
Economic Growth  
March 14

**MIDLAND, TX**  
Natural Resources & Energy  
April 20

**POUGHKEEPSIE, NY**  
Interpretership  
March 18

**SOUTH BEND, IN**  
U.S. Leadership in a Changing World  
March 19



## Endless Forums:

**ATLANTA, GA**  
Health Care Reform

**BILLINGS, MT**  
Government Lands Issues

**CINCINNATI, OH**  
Violent Crime

**DENVER, CO**  
Government Lands Issues

**FT. MITCHELL, KY**  
Improving Schools & Education

**HAMPTON, VA**  
Fisheries

**ORLANDO, FL**  
Juvenile Crime

**PRINCETON, NJ**  
Legal Reform

**SALT LAKE CITY, UT**  
Government Lands Issues

**FRESNO, CA**  
Natural Resources & Energy  
March 26

**DALLAS, TX**  
Safe & Prosperous Neighborhoods  
March 29

**PITTSBURGH, PA**  
Free Individuals in a Free Society  
March 31

**COLUMBUS, OH**  
Safe & Prosperous Neighborhoods  
April 5

**PORTLAND, ME**  
Improving Schools & Education  
April 6

**ANAHEIM, CA**  
Free Individuals in a Free Society  
April 7

**MULTI-STATE FORUM**  
Economic Growth  
Reducing the Size & Scope of Gov't  
April 15

**GREENSBORO, NC**  
Free Individuals in a Free Society  
April 16

00.04.395.1313

EXHIBIT 10

# NATIONAL POLICY FORUM

*A Republican Center for the Exchange of Ideas*

## POLICY COUNCILS

Co-Chairs

1. **Free Individuals in a Free Society**  
Hon. William J. Bennett & Carol Iannone
2. **Reforming Health Care**  
Gov. Carroll A. Campbell, Jr. & Rep. Nancy Johnson
3. **Strengthening the Family**  
Gov. Tommy Thompson & Nona Brazier
4. **Making Neighborhoods Safe and Prosperous**  
Rep. Deborah Pryce & Hon. William Barr
5. **Improving Schools and Education**  
Hon. Lamar Alexander & Hon. Lynn Martin
6. **Stimulating Economic Growth and Workplace Opportunity**  
Sen. Phil Gramm & Noel Irwin-Hentschel
7. **Entrepreneurship and Small Business**  
Hon. Jack Kemp & Michele Dyson
8. **Reducing the Size and Scope of Government**  
Gov. William Weld & Nevada Secretary of State Cheryl Lau
9. **Natural Resources and Energy**  
Sen. Malcolm Wallop & Hon. Wendy Gramm
10. **The Environment**  
Colorado Attorney General Gale Norton & Hon. Robert Kasten
11. **Competing in the Global Marketplace**  
Hon. Carla Hills & Oren Benton
12. **U.S. Leadership in a Changing World**  
Sen. Nancy Landon Kassebaum & Sen. Richard Lugar
13. **Maintaining Peace Through Strength**  
Hon. Richard Cheney & Amb. Jeane Kirkpatrick
14. **Reforming the Legal and Regulatory Systems**  
Marilyn Tucker Quayle & Hon. Robert Bork

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EXHIBIT 11

# INTRODUCTION

**"Republican party leaders yesterday dusted off an old idea that they hope will make the GOP the party of the future. Seeking to reinvigorate its ranks after losing the White House last year, the party kicked off the process to scour the country for new ideas and build a consensus within the GOP heading into 1996.**

**"Attributing last year's defeat to the party's failure to stand for anything, Republican National Committee Chairman Haley Barbour said, 'We Republicans need to regain our position in this country as a party of principle and a party of ideas.'" —Washington Post, 9/29/93.**

Having spent the last year listening to America, I am sure of one important point: Americans want an alternative to the big government, high tax, regulatory agenda that is currently being pursued in Washington.

Such an alternative agenda must be founded on the belief that individual freedom and individual responsibility are far preferable to government power and government responsibility. That belief resounded through the comments and views of more than 177,000 people who have participated in the first phase of *Listening to America*—an incredible, inclusive process that led to the publication of this summary—the first report of the National Policy Forum (NPF), a Republican Center for the Exchange of Ideas.

As you read the 14 summaries, you will observe that a fundamental belief and commitment to individual freedom and responsibility permeates the policy positions—whether they are positions in favor of positive changes in laws, regulations or standards; or positions in opposi-

tion to bad policies that adversely affect our families, communities and nation.

Among the ideas in this report are these:

- Economic policies that would stimulate growth through lower taxes and reduce the deficit by less spending;
- Education reforms like school choice and more parental involvement in community—not federal—control of schools;
- Trade policies based on open markets and free trade coupled with global competitiveness unburdened by excessive taxes and regulations;
- A commitment to a strong national defense and foreign policy;
- Emphasis on strong law enforcement, tough sentencing and criminal control, not palliatives like gun control, to reduce violent crime;
- Support for specific, targeted reforms—not a government-run health care system—to solve the problems facing health care without destroying the system that gives us the finest medical care in the world;
- Regulatory reform and balanced



environmental protection policies that are based on science and risk assessment and do not unnecessarily burden the economy:

- And welfare reform and other social policies that empower individuals and increase their opportunity, responsibility and self-esteem instead of offering incentives for dependency and illegitimacy.

As you read *Listening to America*, it will be obvious what we are for, and you will also observe that the views advocated in this volume are consistent with those held by a majority of Americans. They are not "Republican" ideas per se; in fact, many who joined us in our process are not Republicans. This led us to remind ourselves that the National Policy Forum is a Republican Center for the Exchange of Ideas, not a Center for the Exchange of Republican Ideas.

Nevertheless, it is quite evident that the views expressed in this initial report are an accurate reflection of the policies Republicans in federal, state and local government have advocated and supported. And where these Republicans have had the power to implement policies and programs based on these ideas, those policies and programs have worked.

The Reagan policies of economic growth through low taxes led to the longest peacetime economic expansion in American history and the creation of more than 18 million new jobs. The strategic doctrine of peace through strength generated policies that led to the demise of the Soviet Union, the collapse of communism and Western victory in the Cold War. Ideas have consequences, issues matter, and public policy based on the right principles succeeds.

*But public policy is too important to allow it to be developed apart from the participation and scrutiny of the public.*

What better example could there be



than the Clintons' proposal for government to take over and run the health care system. Crafted in secret by an elitist crew of policy insiders and partisans, support for the plan has steadily declined as the public has learned what is actually in it. Its terrible flaws have become more and more obvious. Today even its original proponents and sponsors cannot defend its major elements—and most have quit trying.

Thus, from its formation last summer, the National Policy Forum has had the goal of being a participatory institution, open to all who want their voices heard and their ideas considered in the public policy debate. We made it clear that one did not have to be a Republican to participate, and as we hoped and expected, many Democrats and Independents did participate.

What was not expected, or even dreamed of, was the magnitude of the participation. More than 177,000 Americans have participated in the initial phase of National Policy Forum's work. Needless to say, we were overwhelmed at times—but thrilled.

The process that led to their participation was based on our belief that good ideas and policy are more likely to originate outside the Washington, D.C., beltway than inside it. Therefore, in

*Chairman Haley Barbour welcomes NPF board members U.S. Sen. Don Nickles, State Sen. Teresa Lubbers and the Honorable William Brock at the first Friends of the Forum reception in Washington, D.C. Mayor James Garner stands behind the chairman.*

"Another reason for the new forum is Barbour's view that Bush lost in large part because Republicans failed to get his message to voters.

" 'Most Republicans agree we did not do a very good job in 1992 of letting the American people know what we were asking them to vote for,' Barbour said. 'And we need to give people something to be for. It is not enough for us today to just oppose Clinton. We want a party that is centered on ideas.' "

—Philadelphia Inquirer, 9/29/93.

developing policy, the Forum sought the ideas of nonelected, non-Washingtonians—the people who have to pay the taxes and live with the laws and regulations.

The principal operating arms of the National Policy Forum are its 14 policy councils.

Each council has co-chairs who are highly respected leaders with recognized experience and knowledge in the policy area around which the council is organized. They provide outstanding leadership for the councils and the Forum itself.

The majority of the members of each council, however, are neither elected officials nor Washington insiders. Most come from the private sector, although governors, U.S. senators and representatives, state legislators and other state and local elected officials also serve on every council.

The councils held more than 60 public forums from coast-to-coast between November 1993 and June 1994. They also held scores of smaller meetings. More than 10,000 people attended the public forums, with crowds ranging from a few dozen to several hundred. Forums were televised. Local media coverage was almost invariably attained, and it was usually very favorable. Frankly, the media seemed surprised that the forums were not about politics in the election sense but actually about public policy.

Attendees were surprised, too. They were surprised that the elected officials who served on the Listening Panels were there to listen. One of my favorite stories came out of the event in Billings, Mont. Sen. Malcolm Wallop of Wyoming, who co-chaired the Natural Resources and Energy Policy Council with Reagan administration official Wendy Gramm, opened the floor after the last witnesses had made their presentations. The first four participants in the audience all asked

Wallop questions. After answering the fourth question, Sen. Wallop said to the group, "We're glad to answer your questions, but we really came here to listen to you." Needless to say, the audience was flabbergasted. Most elected officials want to talk, and the fact that the officials who participated in our public forums were there to listen made a favorable impression on everyone.

Another principal source for this report was the Republican National Committee. The RNC developed a 26-section survey which included 159 questions about public policy, ranging from defense to education, taxes and crime. They mailed it to more than 800,000 Republican households across the country.

More than 134,000 people took the 30-45 minutes necessary to respond to this survey. The RNC shared the results with the National Policy Forum, so it could benefit from the input of this huge sample of public opinion. This survey is the largest public policy research project ever undertaken by a political organization.

*Listening to America* primarily reflects the views expressed at the forums and in the survey. It also includes the opinion of nearly 40,000 additional people who were involved with the Forum through other avenues.

The policy councils digested and considered the recommendations and opinions of these participants and presented them in this report. But the nearly 1,000 members of the councils will continue deliberations and consider proposals that have been or will be received in the coming months. *Listening to America* is the initial report of the National Policy Forum. A final report will be issued in the spring of 1995.

Between now and the publication of the final report, the policy councils will expand their deliberations. They will con-

sider the development of policies in this fall's campaign and will seek increased input from elected officials. Therefore, the final document will result not only from *Listening to America* at the grassroots level, but it will also reflect long in-depth consideration of these policy proposals.

I know *Listening to America* and the full policy reports and white papers to be published by the councils in September will stimulate debate and pave the way for the development of a positive alternative agenda for this country. It is crucial that such an agenda be developed and advocated.

Today the five biggest institutions in U.S. public policy—the White House, Congress, the bureaucracy, the news media and the special interests—are all pursuing a big-government agenda. They call for higher taxes, more spending and increased regulation. They believe government is the answer to every question. If a problem exists, they look for a government solution.

America needs an alternative to this big-government agenda. The majority of Americans want lower taxes, less spending and fewer regulations. The National Policy Forum is in the process of developing just such an agenda.

When you read *Listening to America*, I hope it inspires you to consider our ideas about good public policy and stimulates you to share your recommendations and opinions with us.

The first phase of the National Policy Forum's work was intensely participatory and concentrated on reaching out to those at the grassroots who have much to share with us. As we continue this process, we welcome the ideas of Americans like you. Please consider this my personal invitation to you to join us in the National Policy Forum in our effort to develop a positive alternative agenda for America.

Haley Barbour  
Chairman  
National Policy Forum

EXHIBIT 12

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The Plain Dealer

July 31, 1994 Sunday, FINAL / ALL  
SECTION: PERSPECTIVE; Pg. 7C

LENGTH: 893 words

HEADLINE: REPUBLICANS TRAIN FOR A COMEBACK

BYLINE: By DAVID S. BRODER

DATeline: WASHINGTON

BODY:

It was what Republican National Committee Chairman Haley Barbour called "idea week" on the GOP front. What the Republicans emphasized - foreign policy - and what they played down - abortion - tells you a lot about the way they intend to play politics in the elections of 1994 and 1996.

First, let it be noted that the script for "idea week" did not include Bob Dole promoting delay in consideration of health-care legislation. The whole idea of "idea week," as Barbour said, was to demonstrate a Republican commitment to develop "good public policy" that would challenge the views of the Democratic-controlled White House and Congress.

Dole's saying on Capitol Hill that inaction in the face of serious medical inflation and large gaps in health insurance might be the best outcome did not - to put it mildly - sound the affirmative note Republicans were seeking. But more often than not in the time I've covered politics, the opposition party's congressional leaders, whether Democratic or Republican, have been consumed by the insider tactics of Capitol Hill and heedless of the need to develop policy proposals that can win voter approval in coming national campaigns.

That's why sponsoring policy-development forums is one of the few really vital tasks a national party can perform when it has lost the White House. Former Republican chairmen Ray Bliss and Bill Brock understood that and moved quickly to set up such panels after the GOP defeats of 1964 and 1976 - one reason that the Republicans' recovery time in each instance was cut to four years.

The Democratic chairmen couldn't grasp the concept even after consecutive losses in 1980, 1984, and 1988; it was only when the unofficial Democratic Leadership Council developed a serious policy arm in 1989 that the intellectual foundations were laid for the election of its chairman, Bill Clinton.

After becoming GOP chairman last year, Barbour quickly put together the financing and organizational structure for a semi-autonomous National Policy Forum, under veteran idea-broker Michael E. Baroody.

Last week, at a news conference kicking off idea week, the forum produced its first report, "Listening to America," a summary of themes and messages heard at 62 grass-roots meetings around the country. It is a broadly written document, less specific even than a party platform, but its large themes reflect the economic and social conservatism that has been dominant in the GOP for three decades.

In view of the attention abortion gets every four years, the report's treatment of it was striking. In the 64 pages, I found only these two sentences on the subject: "When a Nebraska-born Republican on the West Coast called 'family values' a 'thinly veiled, negative, anti-abortion message' and 'a dead issue,' another member of the audience responded, 'The abortion issue is not dead, not while lives are being taken, and not while my tax dollars are paying for it.' Whenever the issue arose, the latter sentiment was the majority position."

Note the factual tone of the last sentence, the acknowledgment of differences of opinion among loyal Republicans. That, I would guess, is the way the issue will be approached in 1996, if Barbour has his way. Reducing it to less than one paragraph in a chapter on "strengthening the family," was a clear effort to put it in perspective.

If you want to know what Barbour considers a large issue, look at what he did - directly under RNC auspices - later last week with a forum on American foreign policy, for which he lined up two former secretaries of state, Henry A. Kissinger and James A. Baker III, former Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney and former Ambassador to the United Nations Jeane J. Kirkpatrick.

The theme was stated at the outset by Baker, when he said that despite successes in some areas, notably Russia, the Middle East and international trade, the Clinton administration "has squandered American credibility and undermined our pre-eminence around the world."

The root causes, Baker said, are that there is "no overall sense of direction ... and no sense of consistency. ... There is fragmentation in authority. ... There is a tendency to view foreign policy through the lens of domestic politics ... and a seeming inability to understand the importance of American leadership."

"If the international community is going to act" on the challenges of the post-Cold War world, Baker said, "only America can lead. And only the president can lead America. Much as he

would like, he cannot be just a domestic president."

Cheney, who is gearing up to run for president in 1996, embellished the theme with references to the five decades of sacrifice, under presidents of both parties, that enabled the West to win the Cold War and installed the United States as the only superpower. Now, he said, employing the verb of the day, that goodly inheritance is being "squandered by one of the least competent administrations in the 20th century."

The populist tone of Barbour's grass-roots report was counterbalanced shrewdly by the use of four highly credentialed authorities to make the case for change of management and direction in foreign policy. Erase Dole, and "idea week" was a textbook example of the way a smart political party prepares the ground for a possible comeback.

GRAPHIC: DRAWING BY: NO CREDIT  
LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

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EXHIBIT 13



1993  
CHAIRMAN'S  
REPORT TO THE  
MEMBERS  
OF THE  
REPUBLICAN  
NATIONAL  
COMMITTEE

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We have devised a three-year plan to completely upgrade all the network components, and I must say this is sorely needed. Our budget constraints for 1993 and 1994, however, do not allow us to do everything that is needed in terms of hardware or software.

The National Policy Forum, a Republican Center for the Exchange of Ideas, was inaugurated in June of 1993. It is a separate organization from the RNC, but many party leaders and Republican elected officials are involved. The excellent participation at the five public forums held in

It shows the strong desire of our grass-roots supporters to have their voices heard in matters of policy.

**J**eanie and I both traveled extensively to support the above operations outside the beltway. In addition to the 10 regional meetings with state party leaders held in March and April, we had our RNC summer meeting in Chicago and our spring and fall Executive Council meetings in St. Petersburg and Dallas, respectively.

By year's end I had visited 68 cities in 42 states, doing 98 events and fund-raisers for state and local parties and candidates. These were in addition to the 19 editorial boards and 105 news conferences and interviews.

Jeanie carried the flag across the country, too. Since the St. Louis RNC meeting she has traveled to 56 cities in 20 states, and Puerto Rico, on behalf of GOP candidates, auxiliaries and programs.

In addition, Jeanie agreed to accept line responsibility for auxiliaries and public liaison. She created the new Republican Speakers Association (RSA), which has been extremely successful. It now has 420 members and in nine months placed 70 speakers at 60 party events, not including Jeanie or my appearances. By providing speakers whose eloquence and influence reverberated on the campaign trail, the RSA played a strong

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# FROM THE CHAIRMAN...

The National Policy Forum was created in 1993 to reconnect the American people with the policy process—to give them back their voice in the national policy debate. No other non-governmental organization has ever undertaken such an intensive, inclusive policy process.

To ensure the openness of the process, we issued a broad invitation to grassroots America to participate; we never anticipated the level of the response. More than 177,000 Americans—Republicans, Democrats, Independents, and unaffiliated—participated—people from all walks of life, and from all professions. Average Americans with an extraordinary commitment to meeting the nation's challenges right in their own backyards, offered extraordinary common sense solutions to our nation's problems.

The National Policy Forum's goal is to make sure the wisdom and the common sense of the American people dominate the national policy debate. It is a *Republican Center for the Exchange of Ideas*, not a center for the exchange of Republican ideas. In other words, while the National Policy Forum begins with Republican principles of small government and more freedom, it seeks to include the broadest spectrum of the American public possible, regardless of party affiliation—in the development of ideas based on common sense.

1995 will be a banner year for common sense change in government. We are committed to helping ensure that those changes are in order, and that they are implemented at all levels of America.

# AGENDA FOR AMERICA

Our most important task in 1995 is the Fall publication of *Agenda for America*, covering the entire spectrum of domestic and international issues. *Agenda for America* will be a foundational document of Republican thought—one that goes to our basic principles and philosophy. It will discuss new ideas, new policies, and new challenges for 1996 and into the next century.

A diverse group of citizens—parents, business and community leaders, elected officials and former officials at the local, state and federal levels—spear-head the National Policy Forum's fourteen Policy Councils. Representing broad and varying backgrounds and interests, these men and women joined NPF's important effort to give Americans a voice in the national policy debate.

Policy Councils each explore specific issue areas as listed below.

## POLICY COUNCILS

### *Free Individuals in a Free Society*

William J. Bennett, former Secretary  
of Education

Carol Innance, Professor, New York University

### *Refining Health Care*

Nancy Johnson, U.S. Representative

John Danaher, Chairman, Danaher Corporation

Walter D. Rife, President, Rife Research Laboratories

William J. Bennett, Secretary of Education

Carol Innance, Professor, New York University

Nancy Johnson, U.S. Representative

John Danaher, Chairman, Danaher Corporation

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Carol Innance, Professor, New York University

Nancy Johnson, U.S. Representative

John Danaher, Chairman, Danaher Corporation

Walter D. Rife, President, Rife Research Laboratories

William J. Bennett, Secretary of Education

Carol Innance, Professor, New York University

### *Natural Resources*

John Danaher, Chairman, Danaher Corporation

Walter D. Rife, President, Rife Research Laboratories

William J. Bennett, Secretary of Education

Carol Innance, Professor, New York University

Nancy Johnson, U.S. Representative

John Danaher, Chairman, Danaher Corporation

Walter D. Rife, President, Rife Research Laboratories

William J. Bennett, Secretary of Education

Carol Innance, Professor, New York University

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William J. Bennett, Secretary of Education

Carol Innance, Professor, New York University

Nancy Johnson, U.S. Representative

# "LISTENING TO AMERICA: *A Neighborhood Meeting*"

The National Policy Forum produces a monthly televised policy program, "Listening to America: *A Neighborhood Meeting*," offering Americans the opportunity to participate directly in the national policy debate. Through this monthly TV broadcast, the National Policy Forum is able to tap Americans from all walks of life, in every state, for their ideas and opinions on the challenges confronting the new Congress, governors, state legislators, and local officials across the country.

Prominent policymakers and lawmakers from all levels of government help lead each monthly discussion, and viewers are encouraged to participate by calling in with their comments. "Listening to America: *A Neighborhood Meeting*," is a major tool for communicating ideas, and one that we look forward to expanding and developing.

"Listening to America: *A Neighborhood Meeting*" airs the second Tuesday of each month at 8:00 p.m. EST.

THE NATIONAL POLICY FORUM'S GOAL IS TO MAKE SURE THE VOICES  
AND THE COMMON SENSE OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE DOWNWASH THE  
NATIONAL POLICY DEBATE.

## COMMON SENSE

Common Sense is a monthly television program produced by the National Policy Forum, a non-profit organization dedicated to the promotion of common sense in the national policy debate. The program is a monthly television broadcast that features a panel of experts and a host who lead a discussion on a current issue. The program is designed to provide a forum for the expression of common sense and to encourage viewers to participate in the national policy debate. The program is broadcast on the second Tuesday of each month at 8:00 p.m. EST.

# NATIONAL POLICY FORUM BOARD OF DIRECTORS

## OFFICERS

Haley Barbour

John R. Bolton

## MEMBERS OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

J. S. R. ...

...

# ISSUE MEGACONFERENCES

The National Policy Forum is holding a series of "megaconferences" in Washington this spring and summer, focusing on long-range policy issues, not just those on the daily legislative calendar. At the megaconferences, we will address the issues that affect us in the same way we are addressing issues which affect us in *Agenda for America*. Megaconferences are already scheduled on: telecommunications; defense; savings, incentives and tax reform; environmental overregulation; health; transportation regulation; international trade; and tort reform/product liability. We plan to bring in experts from around the country, and use these megaconferences as an opportunity to keep the policy discussion continuing, not just in the first 100 days of the new Congress, but over the many hundreds of days that remain for the rest of this century.

# SUPPORTING FEDERALISM



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EXHIBIT 15

# Grass-Roots G.O.P. Group With Big-Company Backing

## Records Disclose Donors to 'Policy Forum'

By RICHARD L. BERKE  
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 31 — A non-profit offshoot of the Republican Party that was formed last year to seek the ideas of ordinary Americans is being financed by big corporations and millionaires whose donations are not subject to Federal restrictions that apply to most political groups.

Since its creation last June, the organization, the National Policy Forum, has been criticized by groups that monitor campaign finances because it has refused to disclose the identities of its donors.

But the forum's own documents, and those of the Republican National

employee, show that small donations were not solicited by mail so the forum could concentrate instead on seeking the largest contributions from a limited number of donors.

Forum officials have said the budget for their first year was roughly \$4 million. A budget document shows the fund-raising plan as follows: \$100,000 apiece from 15 individual or corporate "founders," \$10,000 apiece from 100 major donors; \$50,000 apiece from 20 corporate sponsors, and \$15,000 apiece from 20 association sponsors.

Republican Party officials say the money collected by the organization is being used only to pursue its goals: to attract new people, like Ross Perot's supporters in the 1992 election, into the party by holding meetings around the nation and publishing a journal called "Commonsense."

Mary Crawford, the forum's communications director, declined to discuss the donors or why their identities had been kept secret.

But William E. Brock, a former party chairman who heads the policy forum's coordinating committee, said officials feared that naming the donors would arouse undue suspicion. "As much as I have believed in disclosure as being the answer for a lot of political problems," he said, "I thought it was not in this case because the stories that would have been written would have had to do with who was financing it and whether or not that was coloring the decisions."

Many people who were solicited for the policy forum had already given the large sums of general money for the Republican Party, donations that are not subject to Federal limits. But because such political "soft money" must be publicly reported, some critics of the forum have contended that it was set up as a nonprofit group so it could collect donations that would not have to be made public.

Mr. Barbour and Michael E. Baroody, the forum's president, played an important role in soliciting the wealthiest donors, according to the documents. In one memo about the fund raising plan that was written last year by Kelly Guesnier, a forum official, she said the goals included, "Set up meetings for Haley for big bucks" and "get the check."

Ms. Guesnier also wrote that she planned to solicit Rabbi Milton Balkany, a major conservative fund rais-

## A way to give voice to voters, or to skirt finance rules?

Committee, show that in hunting for money they decided against mass mailings and instead sought and received "hard commitments" from giant corporations like the Philip Morris Companies Inc., the Coca-Cola Company, United Parcel Service, Edison Electric, the Prudential Insurance Company of America, A.T. & T. and American Standard.

Several associations also were listed in the documents as having made such commitments, including the National Rifle Association, National Association of Homebuilders, National American Wholesale Grocers' Association and National Cattlemen's Association.

While forum officials refused to discuss these donors, officials at some of the companies that had been solicited confirmed that they had contributed.

The Democratic Party announced the creation of a similar policy group, to deal with health care, to be financed with undisclosed donors last year but then shelved the idea after questions were raised about its propriety.

Though Haley Barbour, the party chairman, billed the forum as "a very participatory program" when he announced its formation, the documents, supplied by a former party

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Michael E. Baroody for The New York Times

The National Policy Forum, an offshoot of the Republican Party, is financed with money from big corporations and millionaires whose donations are

not subject to Federal restrictions that apply to most political groups. Michael E. Baroody, shown in his Washington office, is the forum's president.

er from Brooklyn. "I am going to ask him for all of the 250K ASAP," she said. "If he can't do it all now, I'll ask for half in August, the other in Sept."

It is not known whether Rabbi Bakony contributed. There was no answer on his office telephone today and his home number is unlisted.

Oren L. Benton, an industrialist from Denver, said he agreed to give the forum \$80,000 last year and \$100,000 this year after Mr. Barbour appealed to him.

"So many of these programs tend to become grandiose, self-serving platitudes that aren't for the average citizen," Mr. Benton said in a telephone interview. "But that's the area I'm most interested in. If this isn't policy setting, then I'm out of there." Like other donors, Mr. Benton was named to head one of the forum's policy councils. His deals with "competing in the global marketplace."

Darlene Dennis, a spokeswoman for Philip Morris, said the company

gave to the forum to encourage a discussion of the issues. "We don't support them in order to control the forum in any way," she said, "though I'd have to say we are pleased that the Republican Party has a greater aversion to tax increases to fund health care than the Democratic Party."

#### "It All Evens Out"

The documents listed Philip Morris as committing \$80,000 to the forum in 1983 and \$150,000 this year. Ms. Dennis said those figures were not accurate but refused to say how much the company gave.

Another donor, American Telephone and Telegraph, said it gave \$40,000 to the forum last year. Herb Linsen, a spokesman for the company, emphasized that A.T.&T. was also donating to the Democratic Party. "We're bipartisan," he said. "It all evens out."

Fred Wertheimer, the president of Common Cause, said such mingling

of policy and politics is improper. "The danger here is that it creates a new way to evade the Federal campaign finance laws and allow national parties to raise unlimited amounts of undisclosed contributions from special interest who have a stake in government decisions," he said. "The notion that a political party engaged in partisan politics can have an arm that is not engaged in politics is simply not credible."

In her memo, Ms. Guesnier listed eight prospects who "all could easily give a million." They included Ted Arison, the founder of Carnival Cruise Lines; E. Wayne Huizenga, the chairman of Blockbuster Entertainment; and Norman Braman, who owns the Philadelphia Eagles.

Another memo listed other prospects for specific amounts, like \$100,000 apiece from Theodore J. Perotman, who owns a financial company in New York, and Wick Simmons, chief executive of Prudential Securities.